BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF THOSE

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,

TO WHOSE

INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT

THE

ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,

FOR

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

AND THEIR

PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The moſt material Circumſtances of NAVAL HISTORY, from the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.

Embelliſhed with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, ESQ.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES HOWARD,

BARON of EFFINGHAM, EARL of NOTTINGHAM, and LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of ENGLAND.

AT this æra, the family of Howard was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by a race of naval heroes, than by exalted birth and powerful alliances. The immediate, and gallant anceſtors of this deſtroyer of the Armada (*a*) have been already mentioned (*b*). Charles, born in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and thirty-ſix, was the ſon of the Lord William Howard, by Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, in the county of Glanmorgan (*c*). He was trained to war, under the conduct of his father, who not only enjoyed the poſt of high-admiral, but had been

(*a*) Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. p. 158. Article Eſſex.

(*b*) Volume the Second, p. 2. &c.

(*c*) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS.—Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 278.

advanced to the barony of Effingham. His earlier years were paſſed in naval expeditions; but, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, a period when he was juſt of age, he received orders from his ſovereign, to repair to Paris, and, in her name, to congratulate Charles, the ninth, who, about this time, had aſcended the throne of France (*d*). In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-eight, he was appointed general of the horſe, and, attending the Earl of Warwick to the North, diſplayed his valour, and good conduct, in the action againſt the rebels, under their leaders, the Earls of Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland (*e*).

We have already (*f*) obſerved that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-nine, he was intruſted with the command of a formidable ſquadron, and, attended by ſeveral of the nobility, proceeded to Zealand, from whence, he eſcorted into Spain, Anne, of Auſtria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian, and niece of Philip, to whom ſhe was betrothed in marriage (*g*). It is, now, neceſſary to add that, in the true ſpirit of an Engliſh ſeaman, who, neither in peace, nor war, permits the navy of his ſovereign to be inſulted, in the channel, he forced the Spaniards, although their fleet amounted to one hundred, and thirty ſail, to ſtrike their flags, as an acknowledgment that Elizabeth, and her people, were intitled to the dominion of the ocean by which they were ſurrounded (*h*).

In

(*d*) Camden's Annals, p. 54.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 583.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1212.

(*f*) Volume the ſecond, p. 168.

(*g*) Camden's Annals, V. 2. p. 220, 221.—Ferrera's Hiſt. de Eſpana, Part XV. Sec. 16.

(*h*) Epiſtle Dedicatory, addreſſed to the Earl of Nottingham, in the firſt volume of Hackluyt's Voyages.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy one, he was returned to parliament, by the county of Surry; an honour which he exchanged ſoon afterwards for a greater, being admitted into the Houſe of Peers, as Baron of Effingham, in the room of his father, who died, on the twelfth of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-two, lamented by his ſovereign, who had permitted him, during the latter part of his life, to enjoy the lucrative, and exalted poſt of Lord-Privy-Seal (*i*).

The Queen beſtowed her favours, with equal profuſion, on the ſon, advancing him to the higheſt offices, yet, not rapidly, but, as her manner was, by progreſſion (*k*). On the fourth of April, in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-three, and, at a period when he had, for ſome time, attended the perſon of Elizabeth, as the Lord Chamberlain of her houſhold, he was honoured with the order of the garter (*l*). A naval hiſtorian (*m*) remarks that ſome contemporary writers have affirmed that the promotion of Lord Effingham was, in a great meaſure, intended to controul the aſpiring ſpirit of the Earl of Leiceſter; and, he deems the circumſtances to be probable, becauſe theſe favourites have been repreſented, as deſtitute of congenial feelings, and not more oppoſite in their minds, than in the conduct of their lives (*n*). he adds that Leiceſter was deceitful, overbearing, and

(*i*) Stowe, p. 674.—Hollingſhed, V. 2. p. 112.—Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 88, 95.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 511.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 279.—Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 511, 512.

(*n*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

ambitious; but commends Effingham for his patriotiſm, frankneſs, candour, and generoſity. We are told that, by the Queen, he was reſpected for his loyalty, and that the people revered, and loved him, not alone in compliment to his illuſtrious, and heroic family, but on account of his hoſpitality, affability, and a number of endearing virtues (*o*). With theſe apparent claims to the attention of his ſovereign, and the regard of his fellow-ſubjects, it is not extraordinary that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, and at the death of the Earl of Lincoln, he was advanced to the poſt of Lord High Admiral of England; an event which gave the greateſt ſatisfaction to all the officers, and mariners of the fleet, by whom he was at once beloved, and honoured (*p*).

The particulars of thoſe important ſervices for which Elizabeth, and the ſtate, were indebted to the Lord Effingham, and his brave aſſociates, at a period when the whole naval, and military force of Spain was intent on the deſtruction of the Engliſh, have been already mentioned (*q*). We ſhall not farther review this important ſubject, than by the inſertion of a paſſage from the writings of the gallant Sir Richard Hawkins, whoſe teſtimony to the merit of his commander, it were Injuſtice to ſuppreſs.

"Worthy of perpetual memory, was the prudent "policy, and government of our Engliſh navy, in the "year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-"eight, by the valiant Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-"Admiral of England, who, in the like caſe, with ma-"ture, and experimented knowledge, patiently with-"ſtood

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 512.
(*p*) Stowe, p. 700, 709.—Camden, p. 451.
(*q*) Volume the ſecond, from page 230, to page 305.

" ſtood the inſtigations of many courageous, and no-
" ble captains, who would have perſuaded him to lay
" the Spaniards aboard; but when he foreſaw that the
" enemy had an army in their fleet, and he none;
" and that they exceeded him in number of ſhip-
" ping, and thoſe great in bulk, ſtronger built, and
" higher molded; ſo that they who, with ſuch Ad-
" vantage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all
" oppoſition below, the ſlaughter, peradventure, prov-
" ing more fatal than the victory profitable, by being
" overthrown, he might have hazarded the kingdom;
" whereas, by the conqueſt, (at moſt,) he could
" have boaſted of nothing, but glory, and an enemy
" defeated. But, by ſufferance, he always advan-
" taged himſelf of wind, and tide, which was the
" freedom of our country, and the ſecurity of our
" navy, with the deſtruction of the Armada, which
" in the eye of the ignorant, (who judge of all things,
" by their external appearance,) ſeemed invincible,
" but truly conſidered, was much inferior to the Eng-
" liſh fleet, in all things of ſubſtance, as the event
" proved. For, we ſunk, ſpoiled, and took many of
" them; yet they diminiſhed of our navy, but one
" ſmall pinnace, nor any man of name, ſave only
" captain Cocke, who died, with honour, amidſt his
" company. The greateſt damage that, (as I remem-
" ber,) they cauſed to any of our ſhips, was to the
" *Swallow*, belonging to her majeſty, (which I had,
" in that action, under my charge,) with an arrow
" of fire, ſhot into her beak-head, which we ſaw
" not, becauſe of the ſail, until it had burned a hole
" in the roſe, as big as a man's head. The arrow
" falling out, and driving along by the ſhip's ſide,
" made us doubt of it, which, afterwards, we diſco-
" vered."

As

As every material circumſtance connected with the expedition to Cadiz, hath been already preſented to the reader (*r*), we need only remind him that the conduct of the Lord Effingham was ſtrongly marked by that well-tempered heroiſm, which is a ſurer earneſt of ſucceſs, than the violence of undaunted Reſolution. Elizabeth, who felt the value of his ſervices, expreſſed a pleaſure in rewarding them; and, ſoon after (*s*) his return advanced him to the title of Earl of Nottingham, which had formerly been enjoyed by the houſe of Mowbray, from which he was deſcended. The preamble of his patent reflects a luſtre on his character, and, by order of Elizabeth, it was expreſſed that, "In conſequence of the victory obtained, in "the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-"eight, he had ſecured the kingdom of England, from "the invaſion of Spain, and other impending dan-"gers; and did, alſo, in conjunction with her dear "couſin, Robert, Earl of Eſſex, ſeize, by force, the "Iſle, and the ſtrongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the "fartheſt part of Spain; and, did likewiſe, intirely "rout, and defeat another fleet of the king of Spain, "prepared, in that port, againſt this kingdom (*t*)." A naval hiſtorian (*u*) obſerves that theſe aſſertions in the patent, howſoever honourable, were leſs needful in that than in any other reign, ſince it was well known that Elizabeth parted not with titles, until they were deſerved (*x*); nor, unleſs ſhe knew that the

(*r*) Volume the ſecond, from page 329, to page 389.
(*s*) October 22. A. D. 1596.
(*t*) Pat. 39. Eliz. P. 3.
(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 516.
(*x*) Yet the earl of Eſſex thought differently. The violent, and jealous temper of this lord was ill-calculated to brook

the public voice would approve her favour; as, in this caſe, it loudly did. At the firſt Introduction of the earl of Nottingham into the houſe of lords, he was received with ſuch unuſual marks of joy as amply teſtified the high opinion which that aſſembly had conceived of him; nor did they leſs applaud the conduct of the queen, when, not ſatisfied with having advanced him to one dignity, ſhe, almoſt immediately, appointed him juſtice-itinerant (for life) of all the foreſts, ſouth of Trent (*y*). The next great office conferred upon him appears to have been that of lord lieutenant-general of all England (*z*), at a period (*a*) when a ſuſpected invaſion from the Spaniards, and the conduct of the earl of Eſſex, in Ireland, had exceedingly alarmed the kingdom.

It may, in this place, be neceſſary to remark, without entering into a tedious relation of the deſperate conſpiracies of Eſſex, that Nottingham (who had been accuſed by that lord, of having ſacrificed to Spain the intereſts of his country,) was intruſted with the command of an armed body of the nobility, citizens, and ſoldiers, when having ſurrounded both from the ſtreet, and gardens, the houſe to which the inſurgents had retired, he ſummoned Eſſex to ſurrender (*b*). At firſt, yield-

brook the inſinuation that Nottingham had equally contributed with himſelf, to the ſucceſs of the enterprize before Cadiz. He even aſſumed the unwarrantable liberty of propoſing that the patent ſhould be cancelled; and threatened, in caſe of a refuſal, to challenge Nottingham, or any of his ſons, to ſingle combat.—Bacon's papers, p. 365.

(*y*) Pat. 39. Eliz. P. 1.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. p. 794.—Stowe's Annals, p. 778.—Speed.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 517.

(*a*) Volume the ſecond, from page 425, to page 427.

(*b*) The earl reſided, then, at Temple-bar; and, on that Spot where Devereux-court, and Eſſex-ſtreet now ſtand.

yielding to the advice of the lord Sandys, this infatuated malcontent declared that he was determined to reſiſt, until the laſt extremity; and would periſh, not tamely by the hands of the executioner, but, bravely, contending againſt his enemies. The reflections of a cooler moment induced him, ſoon afterwards, to change his purpoſe; and he informed the lord admiral that he was prepared to yield on the conditions, that his adherents, together with himſelf, ſhould be treated with civility; that their trials ſhould be regulated by an impartial regard to law; and that Aſhton a preſbyterian miniſter, might be permitted to attend him in his confinement. The earl of Nottingham engaged for the firſt condition; obſerved that Elizabeth would, undoubtedly, perform the ſecond; and promiſed to employ his intereſt for the completion of the laſt. Having received this anſwer, the conſpirators ſubmitted; and the earls of Eſſex, Rutland, and Southampton, the lords Sandys, Cromwell, and Monteagle, together with Davis, and Bromley, were conducted, by water, to the tower. The reſt were committed to different priſons within the city (*c*).

At this period, the lord high-admiral was appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of earl marſhal of England (*d*); and it was to him (who attended (*e*) with the keeper of the privy-ſeal, and the ſecretary of ſtate,) that Elizabeth, in her laſt moments, declared her pleaſure that the crown ſhould devolve on James, the king of Scotland (*f*).

At

(*c*) February 8, 1600. — Stowe. — Speed. — Camden. — Treaſons of the Earl of Eſſex.

(*d*) Pat. 44. Eliz. P. 14.

(*e*) Volume the ſecond, p. 434.

(*f*) Camden, V. 3. p. 912.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 2. p. 507, 508.

At the acceſſion of this prince, the earl of Nottingham was honoured with diſtinguiſhed marks of approbation, and not only fixed in the poſſeſſion of thoſe Offices which he held at the cloſe of the preceding reign, but directed to aſſume the dignity, and Employment of lord high ſteward, during the approaching ceremony of the coronation. In the ſummer of the ſucceeding year (*g*), a peace was concluded with Spain, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries from that court, at London (*h*). The more effectually to ratify it, the conſtable of Caſtile arrived in England; whilſt, on the ſame occaſion, the earl of Hertford was diſpatched to the Low-Countries, and the earl of Nottingham to Spain. His magnificent retinue amounted to five hundred perſons, amongſt whom were ſix peers, and fifty knights. Amidſt the pomp of this ambaſſy, the royal appointment of fifteen thouſand pounds, formed but an inconſiderable part of the expences which attended it. The generoſity of Nottingham, which, at this juncture, was carried to unuſual exceſſes, proved highly-pleaſing to the Spaniards, on whoſe bigotry, and ignorance, the prieſts had worked ſo powerfully, that they expected to have met an infernal troop of monſters from the Engliſh land of heretics; and could not avoid remarking with aſtoniſhment, that the ambaſſador, and his attendants, were not only in human form, but blooming with health, and beauty, ſuperior to their own. The gifts which were preſented by Philip, the third, to the earl of Nottingham, at his departure from the court of Spain, were ſuppoſed to have exceeded in value, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds (*i*).

On

(*g*) Auguſt 18, 1604.
(*h*) Rymer, V. 16. p. 585, &c.
(*i*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 69. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 519.

On his return, and, at his firſt audience with James, he was treated with a degree of coolneſs ill ſuited to the importance of his ſervices, and which reſulted ſolely from the credulity of the king, who conſidered the lord high admiral to be guilty, on the weak ground that his enemies had accuſed him; and expreſſed, without reaſon a violent diſpleaſure, that he ſhould have affected a magnificence too unlimited for a ſubject; and have proceeded, in the free ſallies of his temper, to indiſcretions, unworthy of the prudence of an ambaſſador (*k*). The diſgrace of Nottingham was, however, tranſient, and James took an early opportunity of convincing him that he was intirely reinſtated in his favour, by appointing him to the command of the fleet which accompanied the princeſs Elizabeth, on her paſſage to Fluſhing, ſoon after the celebration of her nuptials with the Elector Palatine (*l*). This ſervice (if it be intitled to ſuch a name,) was the laſt public action of his life, and, quickly followed by the reſignation of his poſt of lord high admiral, to the riſing favourite, George Villiers, at that period, duke of Buckingham.

A naval writer (*m*), obſerves that ſome contemporary hiſtorians have thrown this circumſtance into a light exceedingly injurious to the memory of James, diſgraceful to Buckingham, and equally detrimental to the Reputation of the earl of Nottingham, who is repreſented as having been, compulſively, diſmiſſed from his employments in the navy; yet not without a pecuniary recompence from James, and the appointment of ſir Robert Manſel, to the poſt of vice-admiral

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, p. 91, 92.

(*l*) Wilſon's life of James, the firſt, in Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, V. 2. p. 690, 691.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

miral for life; and thus, (if ſuch accounts could be depended on,) a valiant, and experienced officer, was wantonly removed from an important truſt, to pleaſe a raſh, and giddy youth, unable to diſcharge it (*n*).

In contradiction to this inference, it hath been remarked (*o*) that the manner in which the earl of Nottingham reſigned his poſt, appears from the moſt ſcrupulous conſideration of every circumſtance, to have anſwered his own wiſhes, without leaving a pretext for an injurious reflexion on the conduct of his ſovereign. During the courſe of thirty-two Years, he had preſided over the naval department of the kingdom, with unſullied honour; and, at length, ſinking under age and infirmities, applied, but without the privity of Buckingham, for a conditional diſcharge. His requeſt was granted; and, as he had ſignified his apprehenſions leſt (under circumſtances too narrow for his rank,) he ſhould be unable to make the neceſſary proviſion for the counteſs (*p*), and her daughters, the king remitted to him a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, which was due from his family to the crown (*q*), and likewiſe ſettled on him a penſion of three thouſand pounds (*r*). To theſe pecuniary rewards, was added a precedency in rank; and, with the title of the earl of Nottingham, he took his ſeat in the houſe of

(*n*) Court and character of king James, by ſir Anthony Weldon. London, 1651. 12mo. p. 114, 115.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

(*p*) This lady to whom he had been married, not long before, was the daughter of the earl Murray.

(*q*) Camden's Annals of king James, in biſhop Kennet's compleat hiſtory, V. 2. p. 651, 653.—Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 279—Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 360.—Aulicus Coquinariæ. London, 1650. 12 mo. p, 169.

(*r*) Aulicus Coquinariæ.

of peers, as the deſcendant of an anceſtor on whom it had been conferred by Richard, the ſecond; and not according to the date of his laſt creation (*s*).

We are informed (*t*) that Buckingham paid a viſit to the earl, and having thanked him for this ſpontaneous reſignation in his favour, intreated the young counteſs to receive from him, as a token of his gratitude, and eſteem for her illuſtrious lord, a preſent of three thouſand pounds. It is added that this powerful favourite (who knelt, as he approached Nottingham, nor ever mentioned him, but with reverence, and by the name of father,) prevailed on James to confirm, (for life, and by patent,) the poſt of vice-admiral to ſir Robert Manſel, the deſcendant of an honourable family, but, at one period, the menial ſervant of the earl. Affected by this act of generoſity, Nottingham, regardleſs of the infirmities of age, repaired, inſtantly, to the duke of Buckingham, and proteſted that he conſidered the advancement of Manſel, as an obligation conferred upon himſelf (*u*). To obviate the popular objections againſt the appointment of Buckingham to the poſt of lord high admiral, the king inſtituted a council compoſed of officers of exalted rank, and diſtinguiſhed naval abilities, without whoſe concurrence no important meaſure was to be carried into execution. The ſalutary effects of this proceeding were ſoon apparent, and Buckingham, who had obtained the aſſignment of a conſiderable fund for the ſervice of his department, was enabled to reduce the ordinary expences of the fleet, from fifty-four, to thirty thouſand pounds, a year.

(*s*) Camden's Annals of king James, p. 653.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 521.
(*t*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170.
(*u*) Ibid.

a year (*x*). It is remarked, by a diſcerning writer (*y*), that, on the whole, this tranſaction was not diſhonourable; that all parties were obliged, and all expreſſed their ſatisfaction; that every inſinuation to the contrary flows manifeſtly from unwarrantable conjectures, and a deſire of prejudicing the world againſt the memory of men in elevated ſtations; practices the moſt deſtructive of the true end, and fruit of hiſtory, the great buſineſs of which is the diſcovery of truth, and the inſtruction of thoſe to whom it is revealed (*z*).

Having quitted his employments, the earl of Nottingham retired to the calmer ſcenes of private life, and paſſed the few remaining years of his exiſtence, amongſt his family, and friends (*a*). His character hath been thus drawn by the hiſtorian (*b*) to whoſe reſearches

(*x*) Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſtoriæ, Lib. 18. p. 37.—Ruſhworth's collections, V. 1. p. 307, 378, 379.—Sanderſon's Hiſtory of James I. p. 439.

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 522.

(*z*) Ibid.

(*a*) He died, on the fourteenth of December, in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-four, and, at the age of eighty-eight*. On the twenty-third of the ſame month, his body was buried in the family-vault, under the chancel of the church of Ryegate, in Surry, His firſt wife was Catharine, daughter of Henry Cary, lord Hunſdon; and his iſſue by her, were William, and Charles Howard, (the Laſt of whom ſucceeded him in his honours,) and three daughters. The fruits of his ſecond marriage with Margaret, the daughter of James, earl of Murray, were two ſons, James who died in his minority, and Charles Howard, who received the honour of knighthood, and, by the death of his brother, became, afterwards, earl of Nottingham.

* Catalogue of nobility deceaſed in the reign of king James I. MS.

(*b*) Mr. Campbell—Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 522.

ſearches we are particularly indebted for the materials of this memoir.

The natural integrity of his diſpoſition had rendered him incapable of committing a baſe Action (*c*), and ſuch was his abhorrence of the guilt which he obſerved in others, that no conſideration could prevail on him to ſuppreſs it. His ſteady loyalty to the crown preſerved his reputation ſpotleſs, and his fortune unimpaired, whilſt the reſt of his family were in the utmoſt danger (*d*). Elizabeth, who knew, and valued his integrity, preferred his candour to the policy of ſome of her greateſt favourites, and frequently remarked that he was born to ſerve, and ſave his country. Her peculiar felicity in ſuiting employments to the capacity of her warriors, and Stateſmen, was, at no Period more conſpicuous than in her choice of Nottingham, whoſe intrepidity could not be leſſened by a ſenſe of danger, and whoſe fidelity was incorruptible.

The magnificence which he diſplayed in his public character, was, in private life, exchanged for hoſpitality; a virtue which he carried to ſuch lengths that he kept (to uſe the expreſſion of doctor *Fuller* (*e*),) ſeven ſtanding houſes, at once. It muſt be confeſſed that

(*c*) It is with pain that we contradict this encomium, and remind the reader of an account * too well authenticated. How melancholy is the conſideration that Nottingham, the brave preſerver of his country, ſhould have deſcended to an act of puſillanimous revenge! The public ſervices of the Hero are almoſt cancelled by the barbarity of the Murderer. —Bacon's Papers, p. 365.—Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. Article Eſſex.

* Volume the ſecond of this work, p. 432, 433.

(*d*) Camden.—Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. —Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 751.

(*e*) Engliſh Worthies, Surry, p. 84.

that the character, and conduct of the earl of Nottingham hath been placed in unfavourable points of view; but, let it be remembered that the writer who reproached him was influenced by the violence of prejudice; and that the rough, and martial behaviour of the heroes in the active ſervice of Elizabeth was ill-ſuited to the ſtiff, and ſolemn air of thoſe ſtateſmen who compoſed the court of James, and to whom it was natural that Nottingham ſhould appear diſguſting *(f)*. His actions are ſufficient to ſilence envy, and to deſtroy the credit of malicious cenſurers. He who vanquiſhed the Armada, equipped, in the ſpace of fourteen days, a fleet ſufficient to maintain the ſovereignty of the ocean, and, by his preſence alone (*g*), diſpirited the adherents of the earl of *Eſſex*, muſt have been an extraordinary man, although we ſhould grant that he had enemies, was not learned, expreſſed himſelf ſomewhat bluntly, and, notwithſtanding his exalted rank, betrayed almoſt a total ignorance of thoſe arts which howſoever common, are yet diſgraceful in the courts of princes.

(*f*) See a letter from the earl of Northampton, to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambaſſador to the court of Spain. Winwood's Memorials, v. 2. p. 91.

(*g*) The idea of the gallant Eſſex, and his aſſociates, intimidated by the preſence alone of Nottingham, is too extravagant. In the heat of panegyric, Mr. Campbell, like a multitude of encomiaſts, ſeems to have treſpaſſed on probability.

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT,

KNIGHT.

THIS illuſtrious adventurer was deſcended from a long line of honourable anceſtors, who had been ſettled in the county of Devon, at leaſt as early, and (if the authority of ſome writers can be depended on,) even before the conqueſt (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, eſquire, by Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, in the ſame County. (This Lady was married, afterwards, to Walter Raleigh, of Fardel Eſquire, and in conſequence of that Union, became mother to the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh (*b*).)

It was to her care that he ſtood indebted for thoſe advantages of education, (at Eton, firſt, and, afterwards, at Oxford,) which enabled him to fill a diſtinguiſhed place in life, and obtain a pre-eminence

(*a*) Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families of Devonſhire, by Sir John Northcote, Baronet, MS.

(*b*) Sir William Pole's deſcription of Devonſhire.—— Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 524.

during an æra productive of illuſtrious men (*c*). His advancement was, alſo, much facilitated through the intereſt of an aunt (*d*), who obtained a permiſſion from Elizabeth to introduce him to her preſence. The queen, charmed with the politeneſs of his behaviour, his taſte for literature, and the apparent Liberality of his diſpoſition, recommended him, as a youth of merit, and promiſing Abilities, to Sir Henry Sidney, the chief governour of Ireland. The favourite ſtudies of Gilbert were Coſmography, Navigation, and the Art of War. With theſe, he was equally converſant in Theory, and in Practice; and is recorded, bravely to have expoſed his perſon, at an early period, in the ſervice of his country, acquiring a diſtinguiſhed Reputation, by his military Conduct, previous to his Engagement in more important Projects (*e*).

The firſt inſtances of his mature judgment, and enterprizing ſpirit were particularly conſpicuous on the expedition to Newhaven, where his attempts were followed by ſuch ſucceſs, as contributed not only to the eſtabliſhment of his Fame, but to the augmentation of his Fortune. The clear, and perſuaſive Manner in which, either as a Speaker, or an Author, He maintained the Rectitude of his own Conduct, or apologized for thoſe meaſures which had been purſued by others, was ſo pleaſing to the great officers, in the ſervice of Elizabeth, that they recommended him to their ſovereign, as a ſagacious Warrior, the exertions of whoſe intrepidity, and talents, might be directed to the

(*c*) Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 1. p. 152, 172.—Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(*d*) Mrs. Catharine Aſhley.

(*e*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonſhire, p. 260.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 525.

the moſt ſalutary purpoſes, in Ireland, where men of the firſt abilities were ſo particularly wanted (*f*). The conceptions of theſe ſtateſmen coincided with the views of our adventurer, and with that ambition which made him zealous to exalt his character, by great atchievements. Having embraced the offers of the court, he proceeded, inſtantly, to Munſter, and, aſſuming the command, began thoſe enterprizes which were, afterwards, ſucceſsful (*g*).

Without entering minutely into the circumſtances of his military operations, in Ireland, let it be ſufficient to remark, that, amongſt other exploits, performed in conjunction with his relation, Sir Walter Raleigh, he compoſed the diſturbances which had been raiſed by the Mac-Arthies; drove the Butlers, who had broken their allegiance, from his province, and obliged Fitz-Maurice, one of the moſt formidable chieftains amongſt the Iriſh, to forſake his country, and flee, for ſafety, into Spain (*h*).

A naval hiſtorian (*i*), after having obſerved that it is not poſitive whether the honour of knighthood was conferred on Mr. Gilbert, previous, or ſubſequent to his departure from Ireland, and that there are authorities on both Sides of the queſtion (*k*), adds that he

(*f*) Stowe, p. 812.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*h*) Ibid.—Camden, V. 1. p. 198, 199.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.—Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 333.

(*i*) Mr. Campbell.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire: where he is firſt mentioned to have been knighted, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy; and, afterwards, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven; but, in both places, the author aſſerts (from a manuſcript belonging to Sir William Pole,) that the dignity was conferred by queen Elizabeth.

probably, received that dignity from the chief governor, Sir Henry Sidney, about the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy; and that he did not return to England, until ſome years afterwards (*l*). Whether Sir Humphrey Gilbert was knighted by Elizabeth, at her own court, or, by Sir Henry Sidney, in Ireland, is a point which we ſhall not pretend to ſettle. It is, however, certain that he was in England, during the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-one, and ſpoke in that parliament which met, at Weſtminſter, on the ſecond of April, and was diſſolved on the twenty-ninth of May, in the ſame year. As the circumſtance to which we allude conveys a ſtriking idea of the political character of Sir Humphrey, it may not be improper briefly to relate it.

A company of merchants, reſiding at Briſtol, had obtained an excluſive patent from the queen. Soon afterwards, it was excepted againſt, in the houſe of commons, by Robert Bell, a member, and a Puritan. In a ſhort time from this event, a meſſage was delivered to the ſpeaker, from Elizabeth, who laid her interdictions againſt unneceſſary motions, and long Debates. The commons were, now, apprehenſive that their ſovereign was offended at the diſcuſſion of a point which affected her prerogative (*m*). It was remarked, by Fleetwood, that the queen enjoyed the privilege of granting patents; that to call in queſtion their validity was, in effect, to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign Commerce was abſolutely dependant on the pleaſure of the crown, which might iſſue prohibitions, even in defiance of the ſtatute eſtabliſhing a liberty of trade; and that whenſoever an exclu-

(*l*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.
(*m*) D'Ewes, p. 159.

excluſive patent was granted by the prince, He only employed the power veſted in him, and forbad all others to engage in any particular branch of commerce. In this ſpeech, Fleetwood referred to the clerk of the parliament's book, in ſupport of his aſſertion that no man might ſpeak in the houſe, concerning the ſtatute of wills, unleſs the ſovereign firſt gave licence, becauſe the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He, alſo, quoted the ſtatutes of Edward, the third, and Henry, the fourth, as making mention of a ſaving of the prerogative (*n*).

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, ſtill more zealous in his defence of regal privileges, called the motion, which had been made by Bell, a vain Device, and perilous to be treated of. He remarked that its aim was the derogation of the prerogative imperial; and that thoſe who, even in imagination, ſhould ſide with this attempt, muſt be conſidered as declared enemies to the crown. He aſked, what particular difference there was between ſaying that the queen is not to uſe the privilege of the crown, and obſerving that ſhe is not queen? and added, that although experience had ſhewn ſo much clemency in her majeſty, as might, perhaps, make the ſubjects forget their duty, it was not good to ſport, or venture too far with princes. He alluded to the alarming conſequences which might reſult from either hearing, or ſuffering ſo dangerous a doctrine, in the fable of the hare, who, being informed that all the horned beaſts were ordered, by proclamation, to depart the court, fled inſtantly, leſt his ears ſhould be conſtrued to be horns. He cloſed his ſpeech by requeſting of the members to take heed, leſt, if they perſiſted to interfere in theſe points, the

(*n*) D'Ewes, p. 160.

queen might look to her own power, and, conſcious of her ability to extirpate their challenged liberty, and maintain an arbitrary ſway, purſue the conduct of Lewis, the eleventh, of France, who "delivered the crown from Wardſhip (*o*)."

A ſpeech ſo very courtly was far from meeting with a favourable reception, yet, at this period, the only reply was that Sir Humphrey had miſtaken the meaning of the houſe, and of the member who made the motion; and that their ſole intention was to repreſent, in due, and ſeemly form, their grievances unto the queen. At a ſubſequent debate, Peter Wentworth, another puritan, whoſe name deſerves to be recorded with the Hampdens, Miltons, Sidneys, and Ruſſels of a later æra (*p*), called the ſpeech which had been made by Sir Humphrey, an inſult on the houſe of commons; reproached him with a propenſity to fawn upon his ſovereign; compared him to the Cameleon, which can change itſelf into all colours, except white; and recommended to the houſe a due care of the liberty of ſpeech, and of the privileges of parliament (*q*). Farther to purſue the ſubject is foreign to our purpoſe; but it is impoſſible to conclude it, without lamenting that the hero whoſe martial character was irreproachable, ſhould, in his ſenatorial capacity, have ſacrificed the feelings of humanity to the moſt abject extravagance

(*o*) D'Ewes, p. 168.

(*p*) We would intreat the Engliſh reader, who feels the value of his Libetty, to attend to the debates of that ſeſſion of parliament which was holden on the eighth of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſix. He will find it difficult to reſtrain his Admiration, and aſtoniſhment, whenſoever he reflects on the ſpirit, and underſtanding of Wentworth.—See D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, 241, 244, 259, &c.

(*q*) D'Ewes, p. 175.

gance of loyalty; and have contended for the propriety, and exiſtence of a patent, which, whilſt it enriched four mercileſs, and avaritious courtiers, brought on the ruin of ſeven thouſand induſtrious ſubjects (*r*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſix, Sir Humphrey Gilbert publiſhed his treatiſe concerning the diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies. At the concluſion of this performance (which, in the Opinion of a diſcerning Writer (*s*) is plain, methodical, and judicious,) the author ſignified his intention of producing another eſſay on navigation, which he had written, but which, now, is probably deſtroyed (*t*). In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he embraced the Reſolution of eſtabliſhing a colony in America, for which purpoſe, the queen had iſſued her letters patent, in the terms that follow (*u*).

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, queen of "England, &c. To all people to whom theſe pre- "ſents ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that of our "eſpecial grace, certain ſcience, and mere motion, "we have given, and granted, and, by theſe pre- "ſents, for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, do give, "and grant to our truſty, and well-beloved ſervant, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in our county of "Devonſhire, knight, and to his heirs, and aſſigns, "for ever, free liberty, and licence, from time to "time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter, to "diſcover, find, ſearch out, and view ſuch remote, "hea-

(*r*) D'Ewes, p. 242.
(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 527.
(*t*) See Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 11.
(*u*) Camden.—Harris's Col. Part I. p. 583.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 135.

" heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and ter-
" ritories not actually poſſeſſed of by any chriſtian
" prince, or people, as to him, his heirs, and aſſigns,
" and to every, or any of them ſhall ſeem good, and
" the ſame to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him,
" his heirs, and aſſigns, for ever, with all commodi-
" ties, juriſdictions, and royalties, both by Sea, and
" land; and the ſaid Sir Humphrey, and all ſuch, as
" from time, to time, by licence of us, our heirs,
" and ſucceſſors, ſhall go, and travel thither, to inha-
" bit, or remain there, to build, and fortify, at the diſ-
" cretion of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and aſ-
" ſigns, and every of them, the ſtatute, or acts of
" parliament made againſt fugitives, or againſt ſuch as
" ſhall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm
" of England, without Licence, or any other act, ſta-
" tute, law, or Matter whatſoever to the contrary in
" any wiſe notwithſtanding. And we do, likewiſe,
" by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors,
" give full authority, and power to the ſaid Sir Hum-
" phrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and every of them,
" that he, and they, or every, and any of them,
" ſhall, and may, at all, and every time, or times
" hereafter, have, take, and lead in the ſame voyages,
" to travel thitherward, and to inhabit there, with him,
" and every, or any of them, ſuch, and ſo many of
" our ſubjects, as ſhall willingly accompany him, and
" them, and every, or any of them, with ſufficient
" ſhipping, and Furniture for their tranſportation,
" ſo that none of the ſame perſons, nor any of them,
" be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be ſpecially reſtrained by
" us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors. And farther, that, he,
" the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and
" every, or any of them, ſhall have, hold, occupy,
" and enjoy to him, his heirs, and aſſigns, and every

" of

" of them, for ever, all the ſoil of ſuch lands, coun-
" tries, and territories, ſo to be diſcovered, or poſſeſſ-
" ed, as aforeſaid, and of all cities, caſtles, towns,
" and villages, and places in the ſame, with the
" rights, royalties, and juriſdictions, as well marine,
" as other, within the ſaid lands, or countries of the
" Seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or uſed, with
" full power to diſpoſe thereof, and every part there-
" of, in fee-ſimple, or otherwiſe, according to the or-
" der of the laws of England, as near as the ſame con-
" veniently may be, at his, and their will, and plea-
" ſure, to any perſon then being, or that ſhall remain,
" within the allegiance of us, our heirs, and ſucceſ-
" ſors, paying unto us, for all ſervices, duties and
" demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold, and
" ſilver, that, from time to time, and, at all times,
" after ſuch diſcovery, ſubduing, and poſſeſſing ſhall
" be there gotten. All which lands, countries, and
" territories ſhall for ever be holden by the ſaid Sir
" Humphry, his heirs, and aſſigns, of us, our heirs,
" and ſucceſſors by homage, and by the ſaid payment
" of the ſaid fifth parts, before reſerved only for all
" ſervices."

" And, moreover, we do, by theſe preſents, for us,
" our heirs, and ſucceſſors, give and grant licence,
" to the ſaid Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, or aſ-
" ſigns, and to every of them, that he, and they,
" and every, and any of them ſhall, and may, from
" time, to time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter,
" for his, and their defence, encounter, expulſe, repel,
" and reſiſt, as well by ſea, as land, and by all other
" ways whatſoever, all, and every ſuch perſon, and
" perſons whatſoever, as, without the ſpecial licence,
" and liking of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, and of his
" heirs, and aſſigns, ſhall attempt to inhabit within

" the

" the ſaid countries, or any of them, or within the " ſpace of two hundred leagues near to the place, or " places within ſuch countries, as aforeſaid, if they " ſhall not be before planted, or inhabited, within the " limits aforeſaid, with the ſubjects of any chriſtian " prince, being in amity with her majeſty, where the " ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or aſſigns, or any of " them, or his, or their, or any of their aſſociates, or " companies, ſhall, within ſix years next enſuing, " make their dwellings, and abidings, or that ſhall en- " terprize, or attempt, at any time hereafter, unlaw- " fully to annoy, either by ſea, or land, the ſaid Sir " Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, or any of Them, " or his, or their, or any of their companies. Giving, " and granting by theſe preſents, farther power, and " authority to the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or " aſſigns, and every of them, from time, to time, " and, at all times, for ever, hereafter, to take, and " ſurprize, by all manner of means whatſoever, all, and " every perſon, and perſons, with their ſhips, veſſels, " and other goods, and furniture which, without the " licence of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or " aſſigns, as aforeſaid, ſhall be found trafficking in " any harbour, or harbours, creek or creeks, with- " in the limits aforeſaid, (the ſubjects of our realms, " and dominions, and all other perſons in amity with " us, being driven by force of tempeſt, or ſhip- " wreck, only excepted,) and thoſe perſons, and every " of them, with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and Fur- " niture, to detain, and poſſeſs, as of good, and lawful " prizes, according to the diſcretion of him the ſaid " Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and of every, " or any of them. And, for uniting, in more perfect " league, and amity of ſuch countries, lands, and " territories, ſo as to be poſſeſſed, and inhabited, as

" afore-

" aforeſaid, with our realms of England, and Ireland,
" and for the better encouragement of men to this
" enterprize, we do, by theſe preſents, grant, and de-
" clare, that all ſuch countries, ſo hereafter to be poſ-
" ſeſſed, and inhabited, as aforeſaid, from thenceforth
" ſhall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs, and ſuc-
" ceſſors. And we do grant to the ſaid Sir Humphrey,
" his heirs, and aſſigns, and to all, and every of them,
" and to all, and every other perſon, and perſons, be-
" ing of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted,
" and entered in ſome of our courts of record, within
" this our realm of England, and that with the aſſent
" of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or aſſigns, ſhall
" now in this journey for diſcovery, or in the ſecond
" journey for conqueſt, hereafter, travel to ſuch
" lands, countries, and territories as aforeſaid, and
" to their, and every of their heirs; that they, and
" every, or any of them, being either born within
" our ſaid realms of England, or Ireland, or within any
" other place, within our allegiance, and which, here-
" after, ſhall be inhabiting within any of the lands,
" countries, and territories, with ſuch Licence as
" aforeſaid, ſhall, and may have, and enjoy all the pri-
" vileges of free denizens, and perſons, natives of
" England, and within our allegiance, any law, cuſ-
" tom, or uſage to the contrary, notwithſtanding."

" And foraſmuch, as upon the finding out, diſcover-
" ing, and inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countries,
" and territories as aforeſaid, it ſhall be neceſſary for
" the ſafety of all men that ſhall adventure them-
" ſelves in thoſe journies, or voyages, to determine to
" live together in chriſtian peace, and civil quiet-
" neſs, each with other, whereby every one may, with
" more pleaſure, and profit, enjoy that whereunto
" they ſhall obtain, with great pain, and peril; we,

" for

" for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, are, likewiſe,
" pleaſed, and contented, and, by theſe preſents, do
" give, and grant to the ſaid Sir Humphrey, and his
" heirs, and aſſigns for ever, that he, and they, and
" every, or any of them, ſhall, and may, from time,
" to time, for ever hereafter, within the ſaid men-
" tioned remote lands, and countries, and, in the
" way, by the ſeas thither, and from thence, have full,
" and mere power, and authority to correct, puniſh,
" pardon, govern, and rule by their, and every, or any
" of their good diſcretions, and politics, as well in
" cauſes capital, or criminal, as civil, both marine, and
" others, as ſhall, from time, to time hereafter ad-
" venture themſelves in the ſaid journies, or voyages,
" habitative, or poſſeſſive, or that ſhall, at any time
" hereafter inhabit any ſuch land, countries, or ter-
" ritories, as aforeſaid, or ſhall abide within two
" hundred leagues of any of the ſaid place, or places
" where the ſaid Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or aſſigns,
" or any of them, or any of his, or their aſſociates,
" or Companies, ſhall inhabit within ſix years, next
" enſuing the date hereof according to ſuch ſtatutes,
" laws, and ordinances, as ſhall be by him, the ſaid
" Sir Humphry, his heirs, and aſſigns, or every, and
" any of them, deviſed, and eſtabliſhed for the better
" government of the ſaid people, as aforeſaid, ſo al-
" ways that they be, as near as conveniently may,
" agreeable to the form of the laws, and policy of
" England. And, alſo, that they be not againſt the
" true chriſtian faith, or religion, now preferred in
" the church of England, nor, in any wiſe, to with-
" draw any of the ſubjects, or people of thoſe lands,
" or places, from the allegiance of us, our heirs, and
" ſucceſſors, as their immediate ſovereigns, under
" GOD. And further, we do, by theſe preſents, for

" us

"us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give, and grant full "power, and authority to our truſty, and well-beloved "counſellor, Sir William Cecil, knight; lord Bur-"leigh, our high treaſurer of England, and to the "lord treaſurer of England, of us, for the time be-"ing, and to the privy-council of us, our heirs, and "Succeſſors, or any four of them, for the time be-"ing, that he, they, or any of them ſhall, and may, "from time, to time, and at all times hereafter, "under his, or their hands, or ſeals, by virtue of "theſe preſents, authorize, and licence the ſaid Sir "Humphrey Gilbert his heirs, and aſſigns, and every, "or any of them, by him, and themſelves, or by "their, or any of their ſufficient attornies, deputies, "officers, miniſters, factors, and ſervants, to em-"bark, and tranſport out of our realms of England, "and Ireland, all, or any of his, or their goods, and "all, or any of the goods of his, or their aſſociates, "and companies, and every, or any of them, with "ſuch other neceſſaries, and commodities of any of "our realms, as to the ſaid lord treaſurer, or four of "the privy-council of us, our heirs, or ſucceſſors "for the time being, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, from "time, to time, by his, or their wiſdoms, or diſ-"cretions, thought meet, and convenient, for the bet-"ter relief, and ſupportation of him, the ſaid Sir "Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and, every, or any "of them, and his, or their, and every, or any of "their ſaid aſſociates, and companies, any act, ſta-"tute, law, or other thing, to the contrary, in any "wiſe, notwithſtanding."

"Provided always, and our will, and pleaſure is, "and we do hereby declare to all chriſtian kings, "princes, and ſtates, that if the ſaid Sir Humphrey, "his heirs, or aſſigns, or any of them, or any other,

"by

" by their licence, or appointment, ſhall, at any " time, or times, hereafter, rob, or ſpoil, by ſea, or " by land, or do any act of unjuſt, and unlawful hoſ- " tility, to any of the ſubjects of us, our heirs, or " ſucceſſors, or any of the ſubjects of any king, " prince, ruler, governor, or ſtate, being then in " perfect league, and amity with us, our heirs, or " ſucceſſors; and that upon ſuch injury, or upon juſt " complaint of any ſuch prince, ruler, governor, or " ſtate, or their ſubjects, we, our heirs, or ſucceſ- " ſors, ſhall make open proclamation within any of the " ports of our realm of England commodious, that " the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or aſſigns, or any " others to whom theſe our letters patent may extend, " ſhall, within the term to be limited by ſuch procla- " mations, make full reſtitution, and ſatisfaction of " all injuries done, ſo as both we, and the ſaid princes, " or others, ſo complaining, may hold us, and them- " ſelves fully contented; and, that if the ſaid Sir Hum- " phrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, ſhall not make, or " cauſe to be made ſatisfaction accordingly, within " ſuch time ſo to be limited; then it ſhall be lawful " to us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, to put the ſaid Sir " Humphrey, his heirs, aſſigns, and adherents, and all " the inhabitants of the ſaid places, to be diſcovered " as is aforeſaid, or any of them, out of our allegi- " ance, and protection; and that from, and after ſuch " a time of putting out of protection, the ſaid Sir " Humphrey, and his heirs, aſſigns, adherents, and " others, ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within " their habitation, poſſeſſion, and rule, ſhall be out " of our protection, and allegiance, and free for all " princes, and others, to purſue, with hoſtility, as be- " ing not our ſubjects, nor by us any way to be al- " lowed, maintained, or defended; nor to be holden as

" any

"any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion, or "allegiance, any way belonging, for that expreſs "mention, &c. In witneſs whereof, &c. witneſs "ourſelf, at Weſtminſter, the eleventh day of June, "in the twentieth year of our reign, and in the year "of our Lord, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſe-"venty-eight."

Per ipſam Reginam, &c.

Having obtained his patent, Sir Humphrey endeavoured to procure aſſociates in the enterprize, and was, at firſt, encouraged, by offers of ſupport from numbers who declared their Reſolution to attend him on the voyage. When the veſſels were compleatly equipped, and the crews aſſembled near the coaſt, in readineſs to embark, the majority of the adventurers departed from their agreements, and ſignified their Intention of reſerving their property for the ſupport of plans concerted by themſelves (z). Sir Humphrey, ſuperior to diſappointments, was, ſtill, determined to proceed upon the voyage, and, with the few friends who yet remained unſhaken in their attachment, ſailed inſtantly for Newfoundland, from whence, after a ſhort, and fruitleſs ſtay, he came back to England (y). On the paſſage, he was intercepted by a ſmall ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, from which he narrowly eſcaped, with the loſs of one veſſel.

The great expences incurred by Sir Humphrey, in preparations for the enterprize, and its ſubſequent miſcarriage, had ſo impaired his eſtate, that he was compelled, for ſome time, to deſiſt from the Reſumption

(x) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 145.——Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 2. p. 205.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 528.

(y) This appears to have been the Summer of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-eight.

of his project. He, now, aſſigned to perſons of extenſive fortune, a tract of land in the northern parts of America, and adjacent to the river of Canada, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a colony; but the adventurers were ſo dilatory in their proceedings, that he was reduced to the neceſſity of accelerating his ſecond expedition, and repairing to the place, of which, if he had not actually taken poſſeſſion, before the expiration of ſix years, the patent muſt have become void (z).

Aſſiſted by Sir George Peckham, and other friends, who, liberally, contributed to the expences of his enterprize, Sir Humphrey, who had diſpoſed of his eſtate, equipped a ſmall Fleet, conſiſting of five ſhips, and barks. He took the command of the Delight, which was the admiral, and of the burden of one hundred, and twenty tons; and appointed William Winter, who was, in part, an owner, to be captain. Richard Clarke acted as maſter.

The other veſſels were the Raleigh, vice-admiral, fitted out by Sir Walter, (at that period, Mr. Raleigh,) and of the burden of two hundred tons. She was commanded by captain Butler; and the maſter was Robert Davis, of Briſtol. The Golden Hind, rear-admiral, of the burden of forty tons; Edward Hayes, captain, and owner, and William Cox, of Limehouſe, maſter. The Swallow, of the burden of forty tons, Maurice Brown, captain. The Squirrel, of the burden of ten tons, William Andrews, captain, and one Cade, the maſter. The number of men on board of the whole fleet amounted to two hundred, and ſixty; and amongſt theſe were ſeveral ſhipwrights, maſons, carpenters, ſmiths, miners, and refiners (a).

It

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 165.

(a) Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 2. p. 205, 206. —Narborough's Voyages, edition, 1711. P. 13.—Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 34.

It had been reſolved by the proprietors that their ſhips ſhould ſteer their courſe, northerly, and follow, with all poſſible exactitude, the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, having obtained a proper ſupply of neceſſaries, they were to ſail towards the ſouth, and to enter every river, or bay, which might appear deſerving of their notice. At the ſame time, the proprietors drew up the orders, neceſſary to be obſerved during the courſe of the voyage, and delivered copies of them in writing to all the captains, and maſters of the veſſels.

On the eleventh of June, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-three, the fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, on the thirteenth of the ſame month, the Raleigh (which was the largeſt ſhip,) returned into the harbour. Two reaſons were aſſigned for this deſertion; the firſt, a conſpiracy to ſet aſide the voyage; and the ſecond, (which is the moſt probable,) a contagious diſtemper that, violently affecting the captain, and ſeveral of his crew, prevented them from navigating the veſſel. After the departure of the Raleigh, the Golden Hind was conſidered as the vice-admiral.

On the thirtieth of July, and, in about fifty-one degrees, they firſt diſcovered land. It was, however, ſeen imperfectly, neither on account of the intenſe fog, could they take the altitude of the ſun. They, now, ſteered along the coaſt, and to the ſouthward, the wind remaining favourable, until they reached the iſland of Baccalaos. At this place, they were rejoined by the Swallow, which, during the fog, had been ſeparated from the fleet. She had intercepted a fiſhing bark, on its return from Newfoundland, and ſeized the tackle, ſails, cables, proviſion, and other articles. Soon afterwards, the ſhips proceeded farther to

the ſouthward, and, on the third of Auguſt, entered the harbour of Saint John. At the mouth of it, they found the Squirrel, which had been refuſed admittance by the other veſſels (of different nations, and amounting to thirty-ſix ſail,) that were within. Sir Humphrey prepared to open a paſſage for the ſhips, by Force; but, previous to the intended commiſſion of hoſtilities, diſpatched ſome officers, in the boat, to acquaint the maſters of the fiſhing barks, that he was impowered by Elizabeth, to take poſſeſſion, in her name, of the adjacent lands; and, that if he met with the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſhould inſtantly endeavour to bring them to ſubmiſſion. It was anſwered that their deſigns were peaceable, and that they had only waited to be fully apprized of the Nature of the Expedition undertaken by Sir Humphrey, whom, in token of their reſpect, they chearfully intruſted with a diſcretionary power of laying a tax on their proviſions, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the neceſſities of his fleet. All the veſſels, now, ſafely entered within the harbour, the Delight excepted, which, too careleſsly navigated by the mariners, was daſhed againſt a Rock; but, after having ſuffered ſome inconſiderable damage, was towed off by the boats belonging to the fiſhing barks. On the day following, Sir Humphrey, (who was ſtiled the general,) and his aſſociates were conducted on ſhore, by the maſters, and owners of the Engliſh veſſels.

On the fifth, having ordered a tent to be erected within ſight of all the ſhips, which amounted nearly to forty ſail, he ſummoned the Engliſh, and foreign merchants to attend, whilſt with the whole of his own company, he took a formal poſſeſſion of the place, and its adjoining territories. In the preſence of theſe perſons, he cauſed the commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, to be openly read, and afterwards,

wards, explained to the foreigners, who were not conversant with the Engliſh language. In a ſpeech, he acquainted the aſſembly that, under the royal authority, he ſtood poſſeſſed of the harbour of Saint John, and all the adjacent land within the circumference of two hundred leagues (*b*); that, thenceforward, the witneſſes of this tranſaction, and, through their information, all perſons whatſoever, muſt conſider theſe territories as appertaining to the ſovereign of England; and acknowledge that he, the general of Elizabeth, was impowered, by royal licence, to poſſeſs, and enjoy them; and, likewiſe, to enact laws for the government thereof, as nearly conformable as the nature of circumſtances would admit to the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution; under which regulations it was expected that all Adventurers who might arrive, at future times, either to dwell within the place, or maintain a traffic with the inhabitants, ſhould, quietly, be governed.

The three firſt laws, which were immediately paſſed by the general, in his juridical capacity, were, that the public exerciſe of religion ſhould be conducted according to the rites, and ceremonies of the church of England.

That if any perſon ſhould attempt to commit the leaſt act which might prove prejudicial to the maintenance of the queen's right, and poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, the offenders ſhould be adjudged, and executed, as in caſes of high treaſon, according to the laws of England.

(*b*) On this occaſion, the cuſtomary ceremony of delivering a rod, and a turf from the ſoil, to the new proprietor, was performed in the preſence of the aſſembly, at which juncture, Sir Humphrey entered poſſeſſion for himſelf, his heirs, and aſſigns, for ever.

That if any perſon ſhould utter expreſſions injurious to the honour of Elizabeth, he ſhould be puniſhed by the loſs of ears, and the confiſcation of his ſhip, and goods.

Immediately on the promulgation of theſe edicts, the whole aſſembly, as well foreigners, as Engliſh, ſignified their reſolution to obey them, and were, immediately, diſmiſſed. On the ſpot where they had been convened, the general erected a wooden pillar, to which was affixed the arms of England, engraven on lead. Farther to eſtabliſh this poſſeſſion, not only in right of Elizabeth, but, for the emolument of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, and aſſigns, for ever, ſeveral parcels of land, contiguous to the ſea-ſide, and lying either near the harbour of Saint John, or elſewhere, were granted in fee-farm. The tenants were under covenant to pay a certain rent, and ſervice to Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, for ever; and yearly to maintain poſſeſſion of the lands, by themſelves, or by their aſſigns.

A party of the Engliſh, under the command of the general, were now employed to collect thoſe taxes on proviſions, which had been granted by the owners of the different ſhips engaged in fiſheries on the adjoining coaſt. Others were buſied in repairing veſſels; whilſt the remainder received directions to make excurſions through the country, and along the ſhore, that they might obtain a full account of the terreſtrial, and marine productions.

The reſult of their diſcoveries was that the ſouthern parts ſeemed deſtitute of inhabitants; a circumſtance which, probably, was owing to the frequent appearance of the Europeans, whoſe preſence, intimidating the natives, might have conſtrained them to relinquiſh their abodes. Towards the north, they met with the ſa-

vages,

vages, who approached without dread, and were of gentle diſpoſitions. Here it was, that a Saxon miner, (of the name of Daniel,) to whom the general had particularly recommended a ſearch for metals, found a kind of ore which greatly reſembled iron. The next diſcovery was, in his opinion, a pleaſing earneſt of the future affluence of Sir Humphrey, and his aſſociates; and he ventured to pronounce, on peril of his life, that a ſecond ſpecies of ore, which he produced, was abſolutely compoſed of ſilver (*c*).

That the general relied on the aſſertions of *Daniel*, is evident from his anſwer to Hays, (the captain of the Golden Hind,) when he ſeemed to call in queſtion the quality, and value of the ore, and deſired that he might be ſuffered to keep part of it. "Content "yourſelf," (obſerved Sir Humphrey,) "I have ſeen "enough; and, were it not to ſatisfy my private hu- "mour, I would proceed no farther. The engage- "ments which I am under to my friends, and the ne- "ceſſity of bringing the ſouthern countries, alſo, with- "in the compaſs of my patent, (which is nearly ex- "pired,) as we have already brought theſe northern "parts, do alone prevail upon me to continue the "voyage. As for the ore, I have ſent it on board, "and deſire that no farther mention may be made of "it, ſo long as we ſhall remain in the harbour; there "being Portugueſe, Biſcayans, and French, not far off, "from whom this diſcovery muſt be kept a ſecret. "When we are at ſea, an eſſay ſhall be made of it; "and then, if we think proper, we may return, the "ſooner thither."

At this Period, whilſt the few faithful companions of the general were endeavouring to accelerate the preparations for a voyage, a number had conſpired to

(*c*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 154.

prevent it. It was timely, and fortunately diſcovered that one party intended to have ſeized the veſſels, in the dead of night, and during the abſence of Sir Humphrey and the commanders, to have proceeded immediately for *England*. Others, more ſucceſsful in their treachery, had conveyed away from one of the adjoining harbours, a veſſel freighted with fiſh, and ſet the crew on ſhore. Several of the mariners had concealed themſelves within the woods, where they watched for opportunities to return home in ſhips which departed daily from the coaſt. Many were languiſhing under fluxes, and other violent diſorders; and ſome had been permitted, by the general, to repair to England. Amidſt this decreaſe of numbers, it became impoſſible to navigate the veſſels; and orders were iſſued that the Swallow, (the command of which was now given to captain William Winter,) laden with ſuch proviſions as were not abſolutely wanted by Sir Humphrey, and his aſſociates, ſhould receive the invalids on board, and return home.

When the Swallow was departed, the three remaining ſhips were immediately ſupplied with all neceſſaries for the continuance of the enterprize. As the Squirrel, a light, and expeditious ſailer, was the beſt conſtructed for the purpoſe of entering creeks, and harbours, the Command of her was taken by the general, on whom captain Maurice Brown attended in the Delight, and captain Edward Hayes, in the Golden Hind. On the twentieth of Auguſt, they ſailed from the harbour of Saint John, which, from an exact obſervation, they had diſcovered to be in forty-ſeven degrees, and forty minutes of north latitude. In the following night, they reached Cape Race, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues. From thence, they ſailed, in eight degrees more, nearly eighty-ſeven leagues towards Cape Breton.

On

On the twenty-ſeventh, and in the latitude of forty-five degrees, Sir Humphrey gave orders for the crew to ſound, and, at the depth of thirty-five fathom, they diſcovered white ſand. In the ſucceeding afternoon, the wind veered to the ſouthward, when, in oppoſition to the advice of William Cox, the maſter of the Golden Hind, the ſhips bore in with the land, during the whole night, at weſt-north-weſt.

On the twenty-ninth, the wind blew violently at ſouth, and by eaſt; the rain deſcended in ſtorms; and the miſts were ſo extremely thick, that the mariners could not diſtinguiſh any object, at a cable's length. Towards day-break, they were alarmed by the appearance of ſurrounding ſhoals, and ſands; and, at every third, or fourth ſhip's length, obſerved the water leſſening in its depth. A ſignal was now, thrown out for the Delight to ſtand off to ſea; but, in the moment that it was made, ſhe ſtruck; and, ſoon afterwards, her ſtern, and quarters, were daſhed to pieces. Immediately, the Squirrel, and Golden Hind, caſting about eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and bearing to the ſouth, with much difficulty, got clear of the ſhoals, and regained the open ſea.

In the Delight, periſhed captain Maurice Brown, and nearly an hundred of his aſſociates, who, with a reſolution that bordered upon madneſs, refuſed to ſet (what they imagined was) an ill example, nor would deſert the ſhip, although convinced it was impoſſible to ſave her. Fourteen of the crew, more eager to preſerve their lives, leaped into a ſmall pinnace. For a ſhort time, they remained along ſide, in hopes of being joined by the captain. At length, diſappointed in their expectations, they prevailed on Richard Clarke, the maſter of the Delight, and one of his companions, to quit the veſſel. Having cut the rope, they, now,

ven-

ventured out to ſea; furniſhed only with a ſingle oar, and deſtitute both of freſh water and proviſions. As the pinnace appeared over-laden, Edward Headly, who deemed it juſt that ſome ſhould periſh in order to preſerve the reſt, recommended the caſting of lots, and that out of the number on whom they ſhould fall, four might be thrown over-board. This meaſure was oppoſed by Clarke, who, availing himſelf of the affectionate regard with which he was conſidered by his comrades (*d*), perſuaded them to ſhun ſuch terrible reſources, and bear, with Chriſtian fortitude, their burden of calamity.

The pinnace was driven before the wind, during the courſe of ſix days, and nights, whilſt theſe miſerable wretches received no other ſuſtenance than their own urine, and ſome weeds which they had diſcovered on the ſurface of the ocean. Sinking under the ſeverities of thirſt, hunger, intenſe cold, and perpetual fatigue, Headly, and a mariner, expired on the fifth day. The remaining fourteen ſurvived; and, on the ſeventh day, were fortunately driven towards the coaſt of Newfoundland, from whence they departed for France, on board a veſſel in the ſervice of that kingdom, and, ſoon afterwards, returned to England. To the regular continuance of the wind, at ſouth, during the ſeven days of their alarming paſſage on the ſea, may be attributed the preſervation of their lives. Had it ſhifted to any other quarter, they could not poſſibly have made the land; and it is not leſs remarkable that it changed full north, in half an hour from the time, at which they reached the ſhore.

This

(*d*) It was unanimouſly agreed that, howſoever the lots might have fallen, Clarke ſhould be excepted from the number.

This terrible event was ſeverely afflicting to Sir Humphrey, who not only lamented over the deaths of ſuch a multitude of uſeful men, and the deſtruction of a valuable ſhip, but felt his ſorrow embittered by the loſs of his Saxon miner, and, with him, the ſilver ore which had been digged in Newfoundland, and of the value of which Sir Humphrey was ſo confident, that he boaſted to his friends that, on the credit of the mine, he did not doubt of borrowing, from Elizabeth, ten thouſand pounds, to defray the expences of another enterprize (*e*).

From this diſtreſsful period, the crews belonging to the Golden Hind, and Squirrel, became intimidated, and ſignified their apprehenſions, leſt (as the Delight, their ſtore-ſhip, was, now, loſt,) they ſhould languiſh under the inclemencies of the approaching winter, and be alike deſtitute of raiment, and proviſions. Moved by their complaints, Sir Humphrey expreſſed an inclination to return to England. The captain, and maſter of the Golden Hind, diſcovered a reluctance in complying with his deſires; nor yielded, until He had frequently repeated: "be content; we have ſeen "enough; take no thought of the expences which "we have incurred: if the ALMIGHTY ſhould per-"mit us to reach England, in ſafety, I will ſet you "out royally in the courſe of the next ſpring. There-"fore, I pray you, let us no longer ſtrive here, where "we fight againſt the elements."

On the firſt of Auguſt, they changed their courſe, and ſteered for England. On the ſecond of September, They paſſed in ſight of Cape Race, and, ſoon afterwards, Sir Humphrey went on board of the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which he had

(*e*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 155.

had accidentally wounded, by treading on a nail. The wind was, now, violent, and the ocean ſo extremely agitated, that captain Hayes, and his crew, who, every moment, expected that the Squirrel would be ſwallowed up, intreated Sir Humphrey not to return to her, but to remain on board the Golden Hind. To this requeſt, he would not pay the leaſt attention; but, inſtantly, departed, affirming that no conſideration ſhould induce him to quit the veſſel, or his brave aſſociates, with whom he had eſcaped ſuch alarming dangers. A generous, but fatal reſolution! for, on the ninth of September, and, at midnight, the Squirrel ſunk, and was ſeen no more. In the courſe of the preceding evening, Sir Humphrey had been obſerved ſitting, and reading, near the ſtern of the frigate, and was frequently heard to exclaim, with a loud voice: "courage! my "lads! we are as near heaven on the ocean, as at "land (*f*)." Thus, he died like a chriſtian hero, full of hope, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience (*g*). It is affirmed, by his aſſociate in the expedition (*h*), that Sir Humphrey was principally determined to ſail in the Squirrel, by a malicious, and falſe report which had been propagated of his cowardice at ſea (*i*). Death (it hath been juſtly obſerved,) was leſs dreadful to him, than ſhame; yet it is difficult to believe that ſo wiſe a Man could be affected by ſo inſignificant a ſlander (*k*).

Such

(*f*) Camden, V. 2. p. 402.—Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 2. p. 207.—Stowe, p. 812.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V, 1. p. 531.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 193, 200.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonſhire, p. 261.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 531.

(*h*) Edward Hayes, Captain of the Golden Hind.

(*i*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 159.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 531.

Such was the fate of Sir Humphry Gilbert! than whom few perſons, in that Æra, were more diſtinguiſhed by exalted underſtanding, and undaunted reſolution. A naval hiſtorian (*l*) obſerves that his memoirs are particularly intitled to a place in the works of this kind, ſince he was, in a manner, the parent of all our plantations, being the firſt who introduced a legal, and regular method of ſettling, without which ſuch undertakings muſt, neceſſarily, prove unſucceſsful. His treatiſe concerning the north-weſt paſſage, was the ground of all the expectations which the moſt enlightened ſeamen had formed, during many years, of actually finding ſuch a track to the Eaſt-Indies; and, notwithſtanding that we, at preſent, know that a multitude of aſſertions advanced in this treatiſe muſt be falſe, yet we, likewiſe, diſcover that many of his conjectures are true, and that all of them are founded on reaſon, and the philoſophy which, at that period, was commonly received.

It

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.—This writer, alluding to Prince, the author of "The Worthies of Devonſhire," introduces the following note. "He tells us, among other things, that "the queen, of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphrey "Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl, at the peak. "If this were true, it is ſtrange that in the prolix accounts "which we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem "written expreſsly to do him honour, by Stephen Parme-"nius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his laſt voy-"age, there ſhould be no mention of it."—It may, perhaps, be ſome defence of Prince, to oppoſe the following paſſage (from Mr. Granger's Hiſtory of England, V. 1. p. 179.) to Mr. Campbell's note.—"Sir Humphrey Gilbert always "wore on his breaſt a golden anchor ſuſpended to a pearl, "which was given to him by the queen. There was a "portrait of him in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants, in De-"vonſhire with this honourable badge."

It may not be improper to conclude the memoirs of this illuſtrious adventurer, by an extract from his own works, and which hath been judged (*m*) the more worthy of regard, becauſe the later accounts of the Spaniſh miſſionaries, in California, contain atteſtations to the ſame effect.

"There was one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victo-
"ria, in Spain, that came, by chance, out of the
"Weſt-Indies, into Ireland, in the year, one Thou-
"ſand, five hundred, and ſixty-eight, who affirmed
"the north-weſt paſſage, from us, to Cataia, con-
"ſtantly to be believed, in America, navigable; and
"farther ſaid, in the preſence of Sir Henry Sidney,
"(then lord deputy of Ireland,) in my hearing, that
"a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more
"than eight years before his then coming into Ire-
"land, told him that he came from Merdel Sur into
"Germany, through this north-weſt paſſage, and
"ſhewed Salvaterrra, (at that time, being then with
"him, in Mexico,) a ſea-card, made by his own ex-
"perience, and travel in that voyage, wherein was
"plainly ſet down, and deſcribed, this north-weſt paſ-
"ſage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius's map,
"And, farther, this friar told the king of Portugal, as
"He returned by that country, homewards, that there
"was of (certainty,) ſuch a paſſage north-weſt from
"England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame;
"which done, the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not
"in any wiſe to diſcloſe, or make the paſſage known
"to any nation, for that (ſaid the king,) if England
"had knowledge, and experience thereof, it would
"greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This
"friar

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 532.

" friar (as Salvaterra reported,) was the greateſt diſ-
" coverer by ſea that had been in our age: alſo,
" Salvaterra, being perſuaded of this paſſage, by the
" friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the
" Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly
" to accompany me, in this diſcovery, which it is like
" he would not have done, if he had ſtood in doubt
" thereof (*n*)."

It is neceſſary to obſerve that Sir William Maſon diſbelieves this relation, and endeavours to refute the arguments which have been advanced in ſupport of the diſcovery of the paſſage to the north-weſt (*o*). But, (as hath already (*p*) been remarked,) the queſtion is not concerning the diſpute, but the fact, which is confirmed by teſtimonies of a later æra (*q*).

(*n*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 19.
(*o*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 428.
(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.
(*q*) The Golden Hind arrived ſafely at Falmouth, on the twenty-ſecond of September, and, more fortunate than the miſerable remainder of the fleet, brought home the whole crew, excepting one mariner. Of the fate of the Swallow, we have no account.

MEMOIRS

OF

EDWARD FENTON.

THE Family of this gallant adventurer was ſeated in Nottinghamſhire, until the period at which the eſtate fell into the joint poſſeſſion of himſelf, and the younger brother (*a*). They mutually agreed to diſpoſe of their inheritance, and employ the produce in ſuch enterprizes as were the moſt ſuited to their genius. The mention of the firſt exploits of Edward will be more properly introduced in the account of expeditions undertaken by Sir Martin Frobiſher. Let it be ſufficient, in this place, to remark, that, favoured by the powerful intereſts of the earls of Leiceſter, Warwick, and Cumberland, he was advanced by Elizabeth to a military command, in Ireland, on his return from whence, he obtained the approbation of his ſovereign, for the prudence, and intrepidity of his conduct.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two, he received orders from the privy coun-

(*a*) Thornton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.—Fuller's Worthies of Nottinghamſhire, p. 318.

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cil, to prepare for an expedition to China, and Cathay. The ſhips appointed were the Galleon, Leiceſter, admiral, and of the burthen of four hundred tons. Of this, he aſſumed the command, as captain, and general. Under him, were William Hawkins, the younger, lieutenant-general, and Chriſtopher Hall, maſter. The Edward-Bonaventure, vice-admiral, and of the burthen of three hundred tons. The captain was Luke Ward, and the maſter, Thomas Perry. The Francis, of the burthen of forty tons, John Drake, commander, and William Markham, maſter. The Elizabeth, of the burthen of fifty tons, Thomas Skevington, captain, and Ralph Crane, maſter (*b*.

A naval hiſtorian (*c*) obſerves that the Leiceſter, and the Edward-Bonaventure (both equipped by the queen, and ſent out on her own account,) were ſuperior to any veſſels in the kingdom, excepting thoſe of the royal navy, and the committee. He adds, that the chief deſign of the expedition was to intercept a ſquadron belonging to the king of Spain, in the Southern Ocean, from the territories adjoining to which came thoſe immenſe treaſures that, afterwards, were circulated throughout all Europe.

The following are the inſtructions given to Fenton, by the lords of the council, on the ninth of April, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two.

I. "You (Edward Fenton, eſquire,) ſhall enter, as "captain-general, into the charge, and government "of theſe ſhips, namely, the Bear, galleon, the Ed- "ward-Bonaventure, the bark Francis, and the ſmall "frigate, or pinnace (*d*)."

II. "You

(*b*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 754.
(*c*) Sir William Monſon
(*d*) Notwithſtanding that theſe veſſels are mentioned in the Inſtructions, it is certain that only thoſe which have been already named ſailed on the Expedition.

II. "You ſhall appoint, for the furniſhing of theſe "veſſels, in the whole, to the number of two hun- "dred able perſons, accounting in that number the "gentlemen, and their men, the miniſters, ſervants, "and factors; which ſaid number is no way to be "exceeded, (whereof, as many as may be, to be ſea- "men,) and ſhall diſtribute them into every veſſel, "as, by advice here, before your going, ſhall be "thought meet: provided that you ſhall not receive "under your charge, and government, any diſorder- "ed, or mutinous perſon, but that, upon knowledge "had, you ſhall remove him, before your departure "hence, or, by the way, as ſoon as you can conve- "niently avoid him, and receive better in his place."

III. "For the more, and better circumſpect exe- "cution, and determination in any weighty caſes, "incident in this voyage, We will that You ſhall take "unto you, for aſſiſtants, captain Hawkins, captain "Ward, Mr. Nicholas Parker, Mr. Madox, Mr. Walk- "er, Mr. Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Tal- "boys, with whom you ſhall conſult, and confer, in all "cauſes, matters, and actions of importance, not pro- "vided for in theſe inſtructions, touching the ſervice "now in hand. And in all ſuch matters ſo handled, "argued, and debated, we think that convenient al- "ways to be executed which you ſhall deem meeteſt, "with the conſent alſo of any four of them, the "matter having been debated, and ſo aſſented to, in "the preſence of your ſaid aſſiſtants. And, in caſe "that ſuch conference, and debating of the opinions "of the aforeſaid aſſiſtants be found, in effect, any "way to differ, then it is thought meet that all ſuch "matters ſo argued upon, ſhall reſt to be put in exe- "cution, in ſuch ſort as you ſhall think, moſt meet, "having the aſſent of any four of them, as aforeſaid.

"And, if any of theſe aſſiſtants ſhall die, then the "number of the one half of the ſurvivors to join with "the captain-general, for conſent in all things "aforeſaid."

IV. "Of all which your aſſemblies, and conſultations "for the matters aforeſaid, we think it very conveni- "ent that a particular, and free note ſhould be kept; "for which cauſe, we appoint Mr. Madox, miniſ- "ter, and if he ſhould deceaſe, then the general, with "half of the aſſiſtants, ſurvivors, to name one to keep "a book of all ſuch matters, as ſhall be brought in "conſultation, and of all ſuch reaſons as ſhall be pro- "pounded by any perſons, either on the one, or on the "other Side; what was reſolved on, and by whoſe "conſent; who diſſented from them, and for what "cauſes. In which book, he ſhall, in that beginning "of the note of every ſuch aſſembly, ſet down, par- "ticularly, the day, and the place, if it may be, and "the names of the perſons preſent, and upon what oc- "caſion, the ſaid conſultation was appointed, or hold- "en, and ſhall have, to every act, the hands of the "general, and of all, or ſo many of the ſaid aſſiſtants "as will ſubſcribe; which Book, the ſaid maſter Mad- "ox, or the other, upon his deceaſe, appointed in his "place, ſhall keep ſecret, and in good order, to be "exhibited unto us, when you ſhall return home."

"V. "If there happen that any perſon, or perſons em- "ployed in this ſervice, of what calling, or conditi- "on, he, or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire, or at- "tempt privately, or publicly, any treaſon, mutiny, "or other diſcord, either, touching the taking away of "your own life, or any other of authority, under "you, whereby her majeſty's ſervice, in this voy- "age might be overthrown, or impugned; we will, "therefore, that upon juſt proof made of any ſuch

"trea-

"treaſon, mutiny, or any other diſcord, attempted as "aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you, or "your lieutenant, according to the quality, and "enormity of the fact: provided always, and it ſhall "not be lawful, neither for you, nor your lieutenant, "to proceed to the puniſhment of any perſon, by loſs "of life, and limb, unleſs the party ſhall be judged "to have deſerved it, by the reſt of your aſſiſtants, as "is before expreſſed, or, at the leaſt, by four of them. "And that which ſhall concern life, to be, by the "verdict of twelve men of the company, employed "in this voyage, to be impannelled for that purpoſe, "with the obſervation of the form of our country-"laws, in that behalf, as near as you may. Pro-"vided that it ſhall not appear that the forbearing "of execution, by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to in-"creaſe the fact of the offender, then it were better "to convince the party of his fact, by the Oaths of "twelve indifferent perſons, and to commit him to "hard impriſonment, until the return. And, as well "of the facts committed by any, as, alſo, of the proof "thereof, and of the opinion of you, and your aſ-"ſiſtants, and the manner of the puniſhment, the "regiſters ſhall make a particular, and true note, in "the book of your conſultation, as is before appoint-"ed."

VI. "You ſhall not remove captain William Haw-"kins, your lieutenant, captain Luke Ward, your "vice-admiral, or captain of the Edward-Bonaven-"ture, nor captain Carliſle (*e*) from his charge by "land, (whom we will not to refuſe any ſuch ſer-"vice as ſhall be appointed to him, by the general, "and the council,) nor any captain of other veſſels,

(*e*) Captain Carliſle was not, however, on this expedition.

" from their charges, but upon juſt cauſe, duly pro-
" ved, and by conſent of your aſſiſtants, or of four of
" them, at the leaſt.

VII. " For the ſucceſſion of the general, govern-
" or of this whole voyage, if it ſhould pleaſe GOD to
" take him away, it is thought meet that there ſhould
" be the names of ſuch gentlemen ſecretly ſet down
" to ſucceed in his Place, One after the Other, which
" are ſeverally written in Parchment, included in Balls
" of wax, ſealed with her majeſty's ſignet, put into
" two coffers, locked with the ſeveral locks, whereof
" one key is to be in the cuſtody of captain Luke
" Ward, the other of William Hawkins, and the third
" of Mr. Madox, the miniſter; and the ſame two
" coffers to be put into two ſeveral ſhips; viz. the one
" coffer in the Galleon, in the cuſtody of the gene-
" ral, and the other in the Edward-Bonaventure, in
" the cuſtody of the vice-admiral. The ſame two
" coffers upon any ſuch caſualty of the general's
" death, by the conſent of the Aſſiſtants which ſhall
" over live, to be opened, and the party therein named
" to ſucceed in the place, who ſhall thereupon take up-
" on him the charge in the ſaid voyage, according
" to theſe inſtructions, in ſuch ſort as if they had
" been ſpecially directed unto him; and the Reſt of
" the company ſo to take, and repute him, in every
" reſpect, as they will anſwer to the contrary. But,
" if it ſhall ſo follow, (as we hope it will,) that there
" ſhall be no ſuch need, but that the general do con-
" tinue ſtill, then ſhall you, at your return, deliver
" back the ſaid coffers, and balls of wax, ſealed, in
" ſuch ſort as they be, without opening them, un-
" leſs it be in the caſe aforeſaid."

VIII. " You ſhall make a juſt, and true inventory,
" in every ſhip, and veſſel, appointed for this voy-
" age,

" age, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, be-
" longing to them, at their ſetting forth, hence, and
" of all the proviſions whatſoever; and one copy there-
" of, under your hand, and under the hands of your
" vice-admiral, and lieutenant, to be delivered to
" the earl of Leiceſter, and the other to the governor
" of the company for them, before your departure,
" hence: and the like to be done at your return home,
" of all things then remaining in the ſaid ſhips, and
" veſſels, with a true certificate how, and by what
" means, any parcel of the ſame ſhall have been ſpent,
" or loſt."

IX. " You ſhall uſe all diligence poſſible to depart
" from Southampton, with your ſaid ſhips, and veſſels,
" before the laſt of this preſent month of April, and ſo
" go on your courſe, by the Cape of Good Hope, not
" paſſing by the ſtreights of Magellan, either going, or
" returning, except upon great occaſion incident, that
" ſhall be thought otherwiſe good to you, by the Ad-
" vice, and conſent of your ſaid aſſiſtants, or four
" of them, at the leaſt."

X. " You ſhall not paſs to the north-eaſtward of
" the fortieth degree of latitude, at the moſt; but
" ſhall take your right courſe to the iſles of the Mo-
" lucco, for the better diſcovery of the north-weſt
" paſſage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and
" within the ſame degree, you can get any know-
" ledge concerning that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do
" well to be inquiſitive, as occaſion of this ſort may
" ſerve."

XI. " You ſhall have ſpecial regard, after your
" departure from the coaſt of England, ſo to order
" your courſe, as that your ſhips, and veſſels, loſe
" not one another, but keep company together, both
" outward, and homeward. And, leſt if they happen

" to ſever, the one from the other, by tempeſt, or " otherwiſe, it ſhall not be amiſs that you appoint to " the captains, and maſters, certain places wherein " you will ſtay certain days. And every ſhip paſſ- " ing before hand, and not knowing what is become " of the other ſhips, to leave, upon every promon- " tory, or cape, a token to ſtand in ſight, with a " writing, lapped in lead, to declare the day of " their paſſage. And if any wilfulneſs, or neglect " in this behalf ſhall appear in any perſon, or perſons, " that ſhall have charge of any of the ſhips, or veſ- " ſels aforeſaid; or, if they, or any of them ſhall " do otherwiſe than to them appertaineth, you ſhall " puniſh ſuch offenders ſharply, to the example of " others."

XII. " We do ſtreightly enjoin you, and conſe- " quently, all the reſt employed in this voyage, in " any wiſe; and, as you, and they will anſwer to " the contrary, at your coming home, by the laws " of this realm, that neither going, tarrying abroad, " nor returning, you do ſpoil, or take any thing " from any of the queen's majeſty's friends, or allies, " or any Chriſtians, without paying juſtly for the ſame, " nor that you cauſe any manner of violence, or " force againſt any ſuch, except in your own de- " fence, if you ſhall be ſet upon, or, otherwiſe, be " forced, for your own ſafeguard, to do it."

XIII. " We will that you deal altogether, in this " voyage, like good, and honeſt merchants, traffick- " ing, and exchanging ware for ware, with all cour- " teſy to the nations you ſhall deal with, as well " Ethnics, as others; and, for that cauſe, you ſhall " inſtruct all thoſe that ſhall go with you, that when- " ſoever you, or any of you, ſhall happen to come " into any place, to conference with the people of

" thoſe

" thoſe parts, that in all your doings, and theirs,
" you, and they ſo behave yourſelves towards the
" ſaid people, as may rather procure their friendſhip,
" and good liking towards you, by courteſy, than
" to move them to offence, and miſliking; and,
" eſpecially, you ſhall have great care of the per-
" formance of your word, and promiſe to them."

XIV. " We will that, by the advice of your aſ-
" ſiſtants, in places where you, and they ſhall think
" moſt fit, you ſettle, if you can, a beginning of a
" farther trade to be had hereafter: And, from ſuch
" places, do bring over with you ſome few men, and
" women, if you may; and do, alſo, leave ſome one,
" or two, or more, as to you, and your aſſiſtants,
" ſhall ſeem convenient, of our nation, with them
" for pledge, and to learn the tongue, and ſecrets of
" the country, having diligent care that deliver-
" ing, and taking of hoſtages, you deliver not per-
" ſonages of more value than you receive, but rather
" deliver mean perſons, under colour of men of va-
" lue, as the Infidels do, for moſt part, uſe. Provided
" that you ſtay not longer to make continuance of
" farther trade, than ſhall be expedient for good ex-
" change of the wares at preſent carried with you."

XV. " You ſhall have care, and give general
" warning that no perſon, of what calling ſoever he
" be, ſhall take up, or keep to himſelf, or his private
" Uſe, any ſtone, pearl, gold, ſilver, or other mat-
" ter, or commodity, to be had, or found in places,
" where you ſhall come; but he, the ſaid perſon, ſo
" ſeized of ſuch ſtone, pearl, gold, ſilver, or other
" matter, or commodity, ſhall, with all ſpeed, or, ſo
" ſoon as he can, detect the ſame, and make delivery
" thereof to yourſelf, or your vice-admiral, or lieu-
" tenant, and the factor appointed for this voyage,

" upon

" upon pain of forfeiture of all the recompence he is " to have for his ſervice in this voyage, by ſhare, or " otherwiſe; and, farther, to receive ſuch puniſhment, " as to you, and your aſſiſtants, or the greater part " of them ſhall ſeem good, and, otherwiſe to be pu- " niſhed, here, at his return, if, according to the qua- " lity of his offence, it ſhall be thought needful."

XVI. " If the captains, merchants, or any others " ſhall have any apparel, jewels, chains, armour, or " any other thing whatſoever, which may be deſired " in countries where they ſhall traffic, that it ſhall " not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffic, " or ſell any thing thereof, for their private account; " but the ſame ſhall be prized by the moſt part of thoſe " that ſhall be in commiſſion in the places where the " ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value as it " may be reaſonably worth in England, and then, ſold, " to the profit of the whole voyage, and to go as in " adventure for thoſe to whom it doth appertain."

XVII. " You, yourſelf, ſhall, in the galleon, keep " one book, and the factors appointed for the ſame " ſhip another book, wherein ſhall be a juſt account " kept, as well of the merchandize carried hence, as " of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And as well at your " ſetting forth, as from time, to time, as exchange " ſhall be made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their " book, and they theirs to yours, and the like order " ſhall you ſee that the captain, and the factors, in " the Edward-Bonaventure, ſhall uſe in their ſhip, and " the other captains, and factors in each other veſ- " ſel."

XVIII. " You ſhall give ſtreight order to reſtrain " that none ſhall make any charts, or deſcriptions of " the ſaid voyage, but ſuch as ſhall be deputed by " you, the general, which ſaid charts, and deſcrip-

" tions,

" tions, we think meet that you, the general, ſhall " take into your hands, at your return to this our " coaſt of England, leaving them no copy; and to " preſent them unto us, at your return: the like " to be done, if they find any charts, or maps, in " thoſe countries."

XIX. " You ſhall, at your return, ſo direct your " courſe that all ſhips under your government may " come home together, and arrive here in the river " Thames, if it conveniently may be. And where- " ſoever in this realm, you, or any of the ſhips ſhall " arrive, you ſhall give ſpecial, and ſtreight order, " that no perſon of whatſoever condition he be, ſhall " unlade, or bring on land, or out of the veſſels in " which he came, any part, or parcel of merchan- " dize, or matter, or commodity, brought in any of " the ſaid veſſels, until we, being certified of your, " or their arrival, ſhall give farther order, or direc- " tion therein, under the penalties, and forfeitures ex- " preſſed in the fifteenth article againſt ſuch as ſhall " retain any thing to their private uſe, as in the ſaid " article is farther expreſſed."

XX. " To the intent that all ſuch perſons as ſhall " go with you, in this voyage, may better underſtand " what they ought to do, and what to avoid, we " think it requiſite, that, as well out of theſe, as other- " wiſe, with the advice of your aſſiſtants, and maſters " of the ſhips, you ſhall cauſe ſome convenient order " to be ſet down in writing, for their better govern- " ment, both at ſea, and land, if they ſhall happen " to go on land any where; and the ſame to be openly " read, and made known unto them, to the intent that " they may underſtand how to behave themſelves, " and, upon any fault committed, not to have any ex- " cuſe to pretend ignorance, and ſo to avoid ſuch pu-

" niſhment

" niſhment as it is requiſite to have miniſtered for the " keeping of them in good order."

XXI. " And to the end GOD may bleſs this voy- " age with happy, and proſperous ſucceſs, you ſhall " have an eſpecial care to ſee that reverence, and re- " ſpect be had to the miniſters appointed to accompany " you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place, " and calling, and to ſee ſuch good order as by them " ſhall be ſet down for reformation of life, and man- " ners, duly obeyed, and performed, by cauſing the " tranſgreſſors, and contemners of the ſame to be ſe- " verely puniſhed, and the miniſters to remove ſome- " times from one veſſel to another."

XXII. " Provided always that the whole direction, " and government of the people, life, and limb ex- " cept, as in the fifth article; and the courſe of " this voyage, ſhall be wholly at your diſpoſition, ex- " cept in the courſe by the ſtreights of Magellan, ei- " ther outward, or homeward, and, in your paſſage by " the northward of forty degrees in latitude, wherein " you ſhall follow directions ſet down in the ninth, " and tenth article, as alſo in the diſplacing of the " captain of the Edward-Bonaventure, and other cap- " tains, wherein you ſhall follow the order appointed " in the ſixth article. Provided that we mean not, " by this article, to derogate any thing from the au- " thority of your aſſiſtants eſtabliſhed in the third ar- " ticle, or in any other article in theſe inſtructions."

XXIII. " On all occaſions, and enterprizes that " may fall out to be upon the land, we will that " captain Carliſle ſhall have the general, and chief " charge thereof."

XXIV. " And, finally, we require you, and every " of you, to have a due regard to the obſervation, " and accompliſhment of theſe our inſtructions, and

" of

" of all ſuch other things as may, any kind of way,
" tend to the furtherance, and benefit of this ſervice
" committed to your charge."

In the month of May, the general departed, with his ſquadron, from England, and, after a paſſage of nearly eleven weeks, arrived, on the tenth of Auguſt at Sierra Leona, in Africa. Having remained, during twelve days, within the harbour, he was viſited by ſeveral of the Portugueſe, and their attendant negroes. The large boat which conveyed them was freighted with the teeth of Elephants, and a great quantity of rice. Theſe, the Engliſh took in exchange for the Elizabeth, together with her ſails, and tackle; and, when the bargain was concluded, the Portugueſe preſented the general with a negro-boy. At a ſubſequent period, twenty-four barrels of ſalt were given to the natives, in return for forty barrels of rice, a commodity the more acceptable to the crews of the different ſhips, as the meal, and other proviſions carried out from England, were become unfit for Uſe.

On the third of October, the general proceeded, with the fleet, from Sierra Leona; and, on the firſt of December, all the ſhips came to an anchor, in a commodious harbour, near the coaſt of Brazil. On the day following, ſeveral of the Engliſh diſembarked, and ſunk three wells for the purpoſe of obtaining freſh water. During their abode at this place, their chief ſubſiſtence was fiſh, which is mentioned to have been ſo plentiful, that ſix hundred large mullets were taken at a ſingle draft of the net.

On the ſixth, and at break of day, a ſail was deſcried, bearing to the ſouthward. The ſignal was immediately made for the Francis, and the admiral's ſhip to give chace. Having proceeded nearly ſix Leagues to the Leeward of the harbour, they came

up

up with, engaged, and took her. She proved to be a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of forty-ſix tons, and bound to the river of Plate. Amongſt the paſſengers, was Don Franciſco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the governor of that river, and its adjoining ſettlements. The prize, after having been detained two days, and plundered of her cargo, which conſiſted of ſugar, and ginger, was ſuffered to proceed on her voyage, with a part of the crew. The reſt, amounting to twenty-one perſons, were made priſoners. Amongſt theſe were two women, and, with each, an infant; ſeven friars, eight mariners, Franciſco de Torre Vedra, and Richard Carter, of Limehouſe, who had been abſent from England, his native country, during twenty-four years, twelve of which had been paſſed at the town of Aſcenſion, ſituated on the borders of the river Plate, and diſtant from the mouth of it, nearly three hundred leagues. The priſoners informed the general that the Spaniſh fleet, which was equipped for the purpoſe of intercepting him, had departed, about the latter end of the preceding month of November, from Rio de Janeiro, and was, probably, cruizing near the ſtreights of Magellan.

The ſeveral commanders were, now, ſummoned to a conſultation; and they, at firſt unanimouſly reſolved to paſs the ſtreights, and take in freſh water, notwithſtanding that the Spaniards might appear in readineſs to attack them. Purſuant to this reſolution, the whole ſquadron got under ſail, on the twelfth of December, and proceeded, on the appointed courſe, until the twentieth, when, at a ſecond conference, it was judged more prudent not to paſs the ſtreights, but to ſail either to the river of Plate, or to Saint Vincent, in order to procure an immediate ſupply of neceſſaries. Richard Carter, who was examined touching the Pro-

priety

priety of proceeding to the river, obſerved that it was ſhallow, and dangerous; that the road was at the diſtance of ſeven leagues from any town, or convenient place; and that, although proviſions might be plentiful, yet it would be difficult to obtain wine, unleſs they waited, during four months, for the arrival of the veſſels that were uſually laden with it. A circumſtance of ſtill greater moment was the probability that on their entrance into the river of Plate, they might be diſcovered either to the Spaniſh ſquadrons ſtationed in the ſtreights of Magellan, or to the land forces aſſembled at Peru. Induced by theſe conſiderations, they prepared to ſail immediately for Saint Vincent, a place inhabited by the Portugueſe, from whom they did not expect to meet the ſlighteſt oppoſition.

On the twenty-ſecond, the Engliſh miſſed the Francis, commanded by captain John Drake, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention at the concluſion of this memoir. On the ſeventeenth of January, in the ſucceeding year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-three, they arrived at a place to which (having perceived a Falcon hovering near the ſhore,) they gave the name of Falcon Iſle. The ſole produce of the land was woods, and buſhes. On the twenty-fourth, they landed at Citron Iſland, where they procured quantities of wild-fowl, and excellent freſh water.

On the twenty-third, and at day-break, they arrived at the harbour of Saint Vincent. Here, the general was preparing to diſembark, but relinquiſhed his intentions, in the moment that he perceived ſixty men partly Indians, and partly Portugueſe, advancing in their canoes towards the ſhips. On a nearer approach, they diſplayed a flag of truce, in conſequence of which the general diſpatched a meſſenger, with a letter to the governor, from whom he requeſted

queſted a permiſſion to trade, and likewiſe a pilot to bring the ſhips ſtill nearer to the town. In the afternoon, the whole ſquadron anchored within muſquet ſhot of ſome houſes, and an adjoining fortreſs.

The four ſucceeding days were loſt in unavailing meſſages between the governor, and the general, who under the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of amity, concealed a violent diſtruſt. Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, John Whitehall, an Engliſhman, who had married, and ſettled with his family, at Saint Vincent, came privately, with two Indians, on board of the Leiceſter galleon, and, after having affirmed that the governor had given orders for the immediate departure of the women, aſſembled the troops, and made every preparation for an attack, adviſed the Engliſh to loſe no time, but ſlip their cables, and inſtantly ſtand out to ſea. On that day, there was a ſevere engagement, of which captain Luke Ward, the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure, hath given the following account.

"About four in the afternoon, we perceived three "ſail, bearing in towards the point, and which, as "ſoon as they ſaw us, anchored on the bar, and put "themſelves in readineſs, ſending from one ſhip to "another with their boats, and preparing their ord-"nance for the attack. We, on our ſide, were not "idle; but before night, getting our men, and "other neceſſaries from the ſhore, put ourſelves in a "poſture of defence. I went on board of the admi-"ral to know what He deſigned to do, and was anſwer-"ed that he determined to ſet his watch in a warlike "manner; and thus in the event it proved; for, af-"ter his trumpets, and drum had ſounded, he ſhot "off a great piece, as the enemy had done before. "Shortly afterwards the Spaniſh vice-admiral diſ-

"charged

"charged a gun at my ſhip, the Edward-Bonaventure, "and I returned the fire. We then ſet up our main-"top, and top-maſt, which we had taken down, "ſince we lay here, and, before eleven at night, we "were compleatly rigged. In the mean time, the "Spaniards let ſlip their anchors, and cables, and "came driving, and towing with their boats upon us, "deſigning to have boarded us. As they approached, "our admiral hailed them, and, not receiving an an-"ſwer, fired a ſhot at them. He was, however, "glad to let an anchor ſlip to avoid them. Then, "they came all driving down athwart my Hawſer, ſo "that I was forced to ſlip an anchor, and cable, to "ſhun the galleon. During this time, the ord-"nance, and ſmall ſhot plied hard on all ſides, and I "was forced to ſend to the galleon, my ſkiff, with an "hawſer to ride by; for ſhe was looſe, and, with the "flood, drove up within me. The Spaniſh vice-ad-"miral was then on my broad-ſide, and, much ſhat-"tered; yet I did not leave gauling of him, until I "thought that the powder was expended in vain, he "being already in a miſerably torn condition. To-"wards four in the morning, and when the moon was "gone down, it rained ſo violently hard that we could "not perceive one another."

Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, which was the following day, the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral ſhip ſunk, at a ſhort diſtance from the Engliſh. Several of the mariners, with diſmal ſhrieks, clung, for a conſiderable time, to thoſe parts of the ſhrouds, and tackling, which were above the water; but at length, were overwhelmed by the waves, and periſhed in the ocean. The engagement between the Engliſh, and the two remaining Spaniſh veſſels, continued all the morning, and until one in the afternoon, when the

latter, although their complement had, at firſt, amounted to ſix hundred men, ſheered off, and ſailed towards the river of Plate. The Engliſh, who had not ſuffered conſiderably in the action, ſtood off to ſea.

The circumſtances relating to the ſecond engagement are thus mentioned by the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure.

"On the twenty-fifth, at break of day, we ſaw "the Spaniſh admiral ſunk hard by us, ſo that his "yards, which were hoiſted acroſs, and his tops, with "all about them, were out of the water: moſt of "their men were gotten away in their boats, except-"ing about forty perſons, who hung in the ſhrouds, "and tops, and whom I adviſed our general to fetch "away. His pinnace was made ready, and manned "for that purpoſe, but he *countermanded his orders.* "Three of their boats were, likewiſe, going from their "ſhips to ſave them; but *I fired at them, and obliged* "*them to retire, and leave them upon the ſhrouds.* At "length, our general ſent for two of the men; but "one of them, a *Marſilian, being ſorely wounded, and* "*not likely to live, was thrown overboard (f).* The "other, a boatſwain, belonging to the vice-admiral, "was a Greek, and born at Zante. Of the reſt, ſome "ſwam away on rafts; others were drowned; and "ſome remained ſtill hanging on the ſhrouds."

"By

(*f*) The paſſages in Italics are ſhocking inſtances of the barbarity of Fenton, and his aſſociate. It is difficult to reconcile the advice given by the latter to releaſe the Spaniſh mariners from their dangerous ſituation, on the ſhrouds, with *his* firing at the boats which had put off to their aſſiſtance. Is he to be vindicated as having complied with the inclination of the general, who countermanded a former, and more merciful order? or, would not his diſobedience have been a virtue?

"By this time, it was fair day-light; and I called "to our general to weigh, and drive down upon "them; but he required me to go firſt, and anchor "on their quarter; and he would follow, and anchor "on their bows. I weighed, and went down, and an- "chored by them, but not ſo near as I deſigned, be- "cauſe the ebb put me off to the northward. There, "I rode alone, ſpending my ſhot at them, and they "at me, for four hours, before our admiral's anchor "would come up. During which time, I received "ſome damage; but, when our admiral came, he had "his part, and eaſed me."

"At length, our admiral began to warp away, and "being come without me, ſet ſail, and began to ſtand "out into the ſea. I went on board of him to know "his pleaſure. He determined to get out of ſhot, but "could not, becauſe the wind ſcanted on them. "The Edward-Bonaventure, before ſhe could get up "her anchors, endured a great many more ſhot, after "the galleon was farther off than ſhe; and, ſome- "times the galleon had two, or three. Thus the bat- "tle ended, about one in the afternoon. The reſt of "this day, and part of the night, we ſpent in re- "pairing our damages, fitting, and putting our ord- "nance, and furniture, in order, for the next morn- "ing, thinking they would have been with us."

"On the twenty-ſixth, in the morning, they were "gone ſo far up the river that we could not ſee "them; ſo, we manned our boats, and pinnaces, and "ſent them up the river to weigh the anchors, and "cables, which we had let ſlip, in the preceding "night; and this the Spaniards peaceably ſuffered us "to do. An Indian, who came off to us, informed us "that the enemy had buried a great number of dead, "and landed ſeveral wounded men, in the bay. Our

" loſs proved inconſiderable. On the part of the ad-
" miral, only one, a mariner, was killed."

On the twenty-ninth, the Leiceſter galleon, and the Edward-Bonaventure were ſeparated. The laſt, commanded by captain Ward, arrived, after a long, and dangerous voyage, on the thirty-firſt of May, ſafely, in England, to which kingdom, captain Fenton, alſo, returned, but at what period is uncertain. A naval hiſtorian (*g*) remarks that he appears to have preſerved his fame, although expoſed to the mortification of not having accompliſhed his purpoſe. He, afterwards, acquired a more decided reputation by the gallantry of his conduct, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, when, having been advanced to the Mary-Roſe, a ſhip belonging to the queen, he contributed, with other heroes, to the Defeat of the Armada. He paſſed the latter part of his life, at Deptford, in the pariſh-church of which a monument was erected to his memory, by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece. It appears from the Epitaph, that he died in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, and had enjoyed the poſt of Eſquire of the body to the queen (*h*).

We ſhall conclude this memoir with ſome particulars relating to the Francis, as delivered to us by a Portugueſe hiſtorian (*i*).

" It

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.

(*h*) The particulars of this Memoir are taken from Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 757.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, §. 35. p. 85.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 38.—Stowe.—Strype.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 171.—Camden, V. 2. p. 574.—Ubaldino's Diſcourſe of the Spaniſh fleet invading England, p. 26, 27.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 185, 193.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.—Biſhop Carleton's Remembrancer, p. 154.—Fuller's Worthies.

(*i*) Lopez Vaz.

" It is impoſſible to aſſign a reaſon why the whole " ſquadron, commanded by Fenton, did not proceed to " the Streights of Magellan. The Francis, under the " conduct of John Drake, quitted the other ſhips, and " arrived at the river of Plate, at the diſtance of five " leagues from Seal-Iſland, and cloſe to the ſpot where " the veſſels belonging to the earl of Cumberland took " in freſh water. Here, the Francis was caſt away up- " on a ledge of rocks; but eighteen of the crew " eſcaped, in the boat, to the adjoining ſhore, from " whence they travelled, by land, during a whole " day, and were, at length, intercepted by the natives, " who (although not abſolutely Cannibals,) were ac- " cuſtomed to reduce to ſlavery all the chriſtians whom " they could ſeize."

" During a ſhort Skirmiſh, theſe ſavages killed five " of the Engliſh, and, then, compelled the remaining " thirteen to ſurrender. After a ſevere bondage of " fifteen months, Richard Fairweather, the maſter " of the Francis, having diſcovered that there was a " town of Chriſtians, on the other ſide of the river, " was determined to eſcape. He ſecured a ſmall ca- " noe, furniſhed with two oars, and at midnight, put " off from the ſhore, in company with John Drake, " and a young mariner. As the river was nineteen " leagues in breadth, they were three days on their " paſſage, during which they had not the leaſt ſuſ- " tenance. On the ſpot where they landed, they " diſcovered a beaten path, along which (as it was " marked by the feet of horſes,) they ventured to " purſue their courſe. In a ſhort time, they ar- " rived at a houſe ſurrounded by corn-fields, and " were ſo fortunate as to meet with more charitable " Indians, who, having fed, and cloathed them, haſt- " ened to inform the captain of the place, of their ar-

" rival. He, immediately, directed four horſemen to " conduct them to the town, where he waited to re- " ceive them, and entertained them with unbounded " hoſpitality. It was his intention to have ſent them " to Spaiu; but the vice-roy of Peru gave orders " that they ſhould repair to him." Concerning the ſubſequent fate of Drake, and his aſſociates, the hiſtorian is ſilent.

THE

THE

VOYAGES

OF

Captain JOHN DAVIS.

AS the diſappointment of Mr. Fenton gave riſe to the ſucceeding expeditions of this adventurer, it may be proper to ſubjoin a relation of them to the laſt memoir. In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, William Sanderſon, a maſter of globes, and ſeveral opulent citizens of London, equipped two barks, which were named the Sun-Shine, and the Moon-Shine. The firſt, commanded by captain Davis, was of the burthen of fifty tons; and his company, amounting to twenty-two perſons, conſiſted of a merchant, a maſter, and maſter's-mate, a gunner, a carpenter, a boatſwain, ten mariners, two boys, and four muſicians. The ſecond, of the burthen of thirty-five tons, was intruſted to captain William Bruton, under whom were nineteen perſons, all common ſailors, except the maſter.

On the ſeventh of June, and in the ſame year, captain Davis proceeded, with theſe barks, from Dart-

mouth, for the purpoſe of diſcovering a new paſſage, by the north-weſt parts of America, to the Eaſt-Indies. Having paſſed Falmouth, on the twenty-eighth, he ſteered his courſe, northward; and, on the nineteenth of July, at the diſtance of nearly five hundred leagues from the ſouthern cape of Ireland, called Miſſenhead, was much obſtructed by the ice. On the day following, he arrived within ſight of the coaſt of Greenland, the lofty mountains of which were covered with ſnow. The extenſive icy bulwarks which encompaſſed the iſland, rendered it impoſſible for the veſſels to approach nearer than within two leagues of it. This place, on account of the hideous noiſe occaſioned by the continual claſhing of the piles of ice, was named by Davis the Land of Deſolation.

Having followed the tract of ice, which winded firſt towards the north, he, on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, had the good fortune to paſs it, and in ſixty-four degrees, and fifteen minutes, latitude, diſcovered a chain of green, and fertile iſlands. On one of theſe, the Engliſh diſembarked, and were peaceably accoſted by the inhabitants, who are deſcribed as low of ſtature, with little eyes, and beardleſs chins. They were ſo pleaſed with their new viſitors, that they came, in multitudes, to ſee them; and, at one time, the ſhips were ſurrounded by thirty-ſeven of their canoes. five of theſe were purchaſed by the Engliſh, who, alſo, obtained from the natives, the ſkins of ſeals, veſtments curiouſly wrought with the plumage of different birds, ſeveral kinds of leather, and rich furs. When they perceived how much the laſt were coveted, they expreſſed, by ſigns, an intention to bring a larger quantity, on the ſucceeding day; but, as the wind became fair, at night, Davis, more eager to proſecute his diſcoveries, than engage in traffic, gave orders to prepare for ſailing.

On

On the firſt of Auguſt, he ſteered his courſe to the north-weſt, and having entered a ſea without ice, came, on the fifth day, into the latitude of ſixty-ſix degrees, and forty minutes. Here, he landed on a hill the ſides of which glittered, as if their ſurface had been tinged with gold. The place (which he named Mount Raleigh,) ſeemed deſtitute of inhabitants, but abounded with white Bears, ſome of which were killed, and eaten by the Engliſh.

On the eighth, they continued their courſe, the land gradually extending itſelf weſtward; and, on the eleventh, They entered a Streight, in moſt parts, twenty leagues wide, and free from ice. Along this ſtreight, (which ſtill bears his name,) captain Davis ſailed forty leagues, and, ſearching all around, diſcovered many iſlands, and ſeveral harbours, together with appearances of a farther paſſage. On the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſeventeenth, the Engliſh went on ſhore, but could not diſcover a ſingle inhabitant, although many marks were viſible of the labours of various artiſans. Theſe circumſtances are mentioned by Davis, as increaſing his expectations of making ſome great diſcovery. Yet, towards the latter end of Auguſt, when the wind became unfavourable for the continuance of his voyage, he changed his courſe for England, and, on the thirty-firſt of September, returned to Dartmouth, elated with the hopes of accompliſhing the diſcovery, at a future period.

The following are the reaſons advanced by Davis, and his aſſociates, in confirmation of the poſſibility of diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage.

1. That the place (to which they had ſailed,) was all iſlands, with great ſounds between them.

2. That the water remained of the ſame colour with the main-ocean, without the leaſt alteration: where-

whereas, they never entered into any bay, either before, or afterwards, without perceiving that its colour was altered to a deep black.

3. Becauſe they obſerved to the weſtward of thoſe Iſlands, three, or four Whales, which (they imagined,) came from the weſtern ſea. To the eaſtward, no Whales were ſeen.

4. Becauſe, as they were rowing into a very great ſound, lying ſouth-weſt, from whence theſe Whales came, there happened, ſuddenly, a violent counter-check of a tide, from the ſouthward, againſt the flood, with which they entered, not knowing from whence it received its ſource.

5. Becauſe, in ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance, they had ſounding (a ſoft, grey ſand,) at nine fathoms; and the farther they ran to the weſtward, the deeper was the water; ſo that among the iſlands, they diſcovered near the ſhore, no ground at three hundred, and thirty fathoms.

6. Becauſe it ebbed, and flowed, ſix or ſeven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not diſcern the chief ſoucre of it.

On the ſeventh of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, captain Davis proceeded on his ſecond expedition, with one ſhip, two Barks, and a ſmall pinnace. Their names were the Mermaid, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Sun-Shine, of the Burthen of fifty tons; the Moon-Shine, of the burthen of thirty-five tons; and the Northern Star, of the burthen of ten tons.

On the fifteenth of June, captain Davis diſcovered land, in the latitude of ſixty degrees, and in forty-ſeven degrees, weſt longitude from the meridian of London. At this place, to which the vaſt drifts of ice ren-

rendered a near approach impoſſible, he divided his ſmall ſquadron, and ſent the Sun-Shine, and the pinnace, to diſcover (unleſs prevented by the land,) a paſſage northward, between Iceland, and Greenland.

On the twenty-ninth, he reached the land, in the latitude of ſixty-four degrees, and in fifty-eight degrees, and four minutes of longitude, from the meridian of London. Here, he went aſhore, and met with an hoſpitable reception from the natives, who, in return for different European commodities, brought ſeals, ſtags, wild-fowl, dried fiſh, and the ſkins of white Hares.

During the time that ſeveral of the Engliſh were employed, on one iſland, in the conſtruction of a pinnace, they were repeatedly viſited by the natives, whoſe numbers were ſo great that they ſometimes filled an hundred canoes. They recollected thoſe perſons amongſt the crew who had been there, in the preceding year, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at this ſecond meeting. Captain Davis, now, divided his boats, and ſent them to the different ſounds, and bays. The ſeveral crews frequently diſembarked, and aſcended to the ſummits of the higheſt mountains, but could make no diſcoveries agreeable to their wiſhes. Having remained in this quarter, during ſome days, and carried on a traffic with the natives, whom he found much addicted to ſtealing, the Engliſh weighed anchor, and ran into the latitude of ſixty-ſix degrees, and twenty minutes.

It hath been aſſerted by ſome hiſtorians that, having entered, at this period, into the ſame ſtreight along which he had ſailed in the preceding year, captain Davis continued his courſe, for eighty leagues, and obtained a farther knowledge of the ſeas, in thoſe parts. He found them ſurrounded by ſcattered iſlands, and plen-

plentifully ſupplied with fiſh. He, next, coaſted ſouthward, and to fifty-ſix degrees, where he remained in a commodious harbour, until the month of September, and, ſailing thence, on the third, diſcovered, in fifty-four degrees, an open ſea, tending weſtward, which induced him to hope that he was on the point of diſcovering the paſſage for which he ſo long had ſearched. He ſuppoſed the ſouth land to be only iſlands, and was chiefly intent on proceeding towards the ocean; but as the wind became directly contrary, he was obliged to anchor in four fathoms, and employed the crew, in catching fiſh, of which the quantities were immenſe.

On the ſixth, having a fair north-north-weſt wind, he made ready for his departure, and ſent a boat, with five men, to bring the fiſh which had been left upon the ſhore. At their landing, they were ſuddenly attacked by the inhabitants, who killed two, dangerouſly wounded two more, and obliged the fifth (into whoſe arm, they had ſhot an arrow,) to ſave himſelf by ſwimming. At this period, a violent tempeſt aroſe, in conſequence of which, captain Davis was forced to remain at anchor, until the eleventh. The wind being then fair, and at weſt-north-weſt, the Engliſh ſet ſail, directing their courſe homewards, and, at the commencement of October, the Moon-Shine arrived at Dartmouth. Of the Mermaid, no account is given, from the time that ſhe was left at anchor (*k*), by captain Davis. It is needleſs to relate the circumſtances of the voyage undertaken by the Sun-Shine; as they do not contain the leaſt variety of information. with regard to the pinnace, it is neceſſary to obſerve that on the third of September, during a violent tempeſt, ſhe was ſeparated from the Sun-Shine, and ſeen no more. The latter reached Dartmouth on the fourth of

(*k*) Auguſt 12, 1586.

of the following month, laden only with a ſmall quantity of ſeal ſkins.

In the letter, written by captain Davis, to Mr. William Sanderſon, is the following paſſage: "I have now "gained much experience of the north-weſt part of the "world; and have brought the paſſage to that likeli-"hood, that I am aſſured it muſt be in one of the four "places, or elſe not at all. I aver, upon the for-"feiture of my life, that the voyage may be performed, "not only without farther charge, but with certain pro-"fit to the adventurers."

On the nineteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eight-ſeven, captain Davis proceeded on his third expedition, with three ſmall Ships, the Elizabeth, of Dartmouth, the Sun-Shine, and the Helen of London. Two of theſe veſſels were equipped for fiſhing: the third was particularly fitted out for a voyage of diſcovery, in the north-weſtern parts of America.

On the eighteenth of June, captain Davis caſt anchor near the northern coaſt of that Region; and, on the twentieth, arrived in the open ſea, in the latitude of ſixty-ſeven degrees, and forty minutes. From thence, ſteering weſtward, he ran forty leagues, but, being obſtructed by the mountainous drifts of ice, and impelled likewiſe, from his intended northerly courſe, by a violent north wind, He was reduced to the neceſſity of returning to the main ocean.

On the twentieth of July, he came in Sight of the ſtreight, which he had diſcovered, two years before, and, after a courſe of ſixty leagues, was interrupted by the ice, and obliged haſtily to return. Having coaſted along to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of fifty-two degrees, he proceeded towards England, and arrived at Dartmouth, on the fifteenth of September,

in

in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven.

The following paſſage, taken from his ſecond letter to Mr. Sanderſon, is a proof that it was not in the power of diſappointments to deſtroy his confidence.

"By the mercy of GOD, I am returned in health, "with all my company, and have ſailed threeſcore "leagues farther than I deſigned at my departure. "I have been in ſeventy-three Degrees, and found the "ſea all open, with forty leagues between land, and "land. The paſſage is moſt probable, the execu-"tion eaſy, as, at our meeting, you ſhall more fully "know."

Of the ſucceſs of the two barks, which were conſtructed for the purpoſe of fiſhing, We have no account. It was directed that they ſhould take their ſtation, between fifty-four, and fifty-five degrees of latitude, and raiſe beacons on every head-land, at which they might arrive. None of theſe marks were ever ſeen by captain Davis, notwithſtanding that he looked out for them, on his return (*l*).

It may be proper to acquaint the reader that a naval hiſtorian (*m*) converſed with captain Davis, and Sir Martin Frobiſher, touching the diſcovery of a paſſage to the north-weſt, and that (if his report be true,) They were not able to give him any more aſſurance, than perſons who had never gone ſo far. He confeſſes that they did offer him (which was all that he could expect,) ſeveral plauſible reaſons to prove the truth of their poſition. In a diſcourſe on this ſubject, the ſame author endeavours to repreſent the undertaking as,

(*l*) The particulars of theſe expeditions are taken from Camden, Harris, Hackluyt, Purchas, and Lediard.

(*m*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 426.

as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting that it were not ſo, he delivers it as his opinion, that not one of the boaſted advantages could be reaped from this diſcovery. He concludes his remarks with an inſinuation, that a more profitable, and, at the ſame time, a more probable attempt might be made by ſailing due north, directly under the pole, which (in his imagination,) would render the paſſage between England, and China, not more than fifteen hundred leagues (*n*).

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 576.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS illuſtrious adventurer, incapable from the obſcurity of his birth, of deriving his deſcent from a long line of titled anceſtry, was ennobled by himſelf. His naval, and military atchievements, ſupply the place of hereditary dignities, and reflect more real honour on his name than all the patents of creation which the ſovereign could have granted. We are informed, by a contemporary Writer (*a*), that he was the ſon of a perſon in narrow circumſtances, who, having, ſoon after the acceſſion of Henry the eighth, embraced the proteſtant religion, was obliged to quit his native country of Devonſhire, and retired ſecretly into Kent, where he read prayers on board the fleet, was next ordained deacon, and, at length, appointed vicar of the church of Upnore, on the river Medway. It is added that Drake (to whom Sir Francis Ruſſel, afterwards earl of Bedford, ſtood

(*a*) Camden, p. 351.—See another inconſiſtent account in the ſame author.—Britannia, p. 145.—Engliſh Hero, p. 1.—Fuller's holy ſtate, p. 123.

godfather,) was bound apprentice to the maſter of a coaſting veſſel, who, pleaſed with his fidelity, and attention to ſea-affairs, made a will, in which he bequeathed to him a bark that laid the primary foundation of his fortunes.

A naval hiſtorian (*b*) is of Opinion that, although moſt of the circumſtances in this relation may appear true, if arranged in their proper order; yet, as introduced by Camden, they muſt ſeem otherwiſe. Firſt, the account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled from thoſe perils to which his religious principles had expoſed him, and this event happened ſome time after the birth of Drake, Sir Francis Ru.. muſt have been an infant, and therefore, probably, was not his godfather (*c*). A more circumſtantial, and well-founded relation (*d*) ſtiles his father, Edmond Drake, an honeſt ſeaman, of Taviſtock, in Devonſhire, where Francis (the eldeſt of twelve ſons,) was born in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and forty-five, and afterwards received an education, at the expence, and under the care of his kinſman, the gallant Sir John Hawkins.

When Drake had reach his nineteenth year, he was appointed purſer of a trading veſſel bound to Biſcay. At the age of twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; and, in two years afterwards, attended (as cap-

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 549.

(*c*) It appears by the monumental inſcription to the memory of the earl of Bedford that he was born in the year, one thouſand five hundred, and twenty-ſeven, and, therefore, (if the account given by Camden is to be relied on,) was but ten years old, when Drake was chriſtened. But, allowing Drake to have been born in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and forty-five, the earl of Bedford might well have been his Godfather.—Campbell.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

captain of the Judith,) Sir John Hawkins, to the port of Saint Juan de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where, his intrepidity attracted the attention not only of his patron, but of the whole fleet, and was conſidered as the preſage of his future fame (*e*).

From this enterprize, he returned impoveriſhed in his circumſtances: and to repair his loſſes, determined to embrace the earlieſt opportunity of cruizing againſt the Spaniards. He proceeded on his firſt expedition, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy, touching (with two ſhips, the Dragon, and the Swan,) at ſeveral harbours in the Weſt-Indies. Having obtained ſome ſlight intelligence, he returned to England; and, in the ſucceeding year, (with the Swan alone,) repeated his voyage, the ſucceſs of which, although not conſiderable, induced him to prepare for an expedition that ſeemed calculated to extend his reputation, and augment his fortune (*f*).

On the twenty-fourth of March, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-two, Francis, and his brother, John Drake, ſailed from Plymouth, with two ſhips, the Paſcha, of the burthen of ſeventy tons, and the Swan, of the burthen of twenty-five tons. Theſe were furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of naval ſtores, and ſuch a ſtock of proviſions as could not be conſumed within the year. Three pinnaces, ſo conſtructed, that their ſeveral parts could either be taken in pieces, or joined, at pleaſure, were put on board the veſſels. The whole number of adventurers amounted to ſeventy-three, including boys; and of theſe, only the principal perſons were acquainted with the nature of the enterprize.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire, p. 239.

(*f*) Sir Francis Drake revived; written by Philip Nichols, 4to.

After a quick, and proſperous paſſage, they arrived, on the twenty-eighth of June, within ſight of Guadalupe, and, next, ſailing between that iſland, and Dominica, towards the continent, approached a bay, to which, at his former landing, Drake had given the name of Port Pleaſant. At this place, which they reached on the twelfth of July, They moored their ſhips, whilſt the carpenters were employed to frame the pinnaces. On the day following, they were joined by an Engliſh bark, belonging to ſome adventurers, reſiding at the iſle of Wight, and commanded by captain James Rawſe, who brought with him two prizes, being a Spaniſh caravel, and a ſmall ſloop, which he had taken, not long before. Several of the crew, belonging to the bark, had ſerved, during a former expedition, under Drake, and, intimated to their commander, a wiſh that they might again attend him; an aſſociation was propoſed by Rawſe, and, under particular conditions, immediately agreed to. Thus united, the whole ſquadron, including the pinnaces which were put together, got under ſail; and, on the twentieth of July, the third day from their departure, arrived at the iſland of Pinas. In the harbour, were two frigates, which had been ſent from Nombre de Dios, to receive a lading of plank, and timber. The crews conſiſted of negroes, from whom Drake obtained ſome information of the force within that city, and then ſet them on ſhore, that they might either eſcape from bondage, or return to Nombre de Dios, by land, a long, and tireſome journey, which it was impoſſible to perform with that expedition neceſſary for men who might have determined to acquaint the Spaniards of the intention of the Engliſh (*g*).

Leaving

(*g*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

Leaving the three ſhips, and the caravel, under the command of Rawſe, our gallant adventurer, attended by ſeventy-three of his aſſociates, ſailed with the ſloop, and the three pinnaces, from the iſle of Pinas. On the twenty eighth, he arrived at Cattivas, and, immediately diſembarking, drew up his men, amongſt whom he properly divided the inſtruments of war, conſiſting of ſix targets, ſix fire-pikes, twelve pikes, twenty-four muſkets, and calivers, ſixteen bows, and ſix partizans, together with two drums, and two trumpets.

In the evening, the Engliſh proceeded towards Nombre de Dios, and, by night, reached Rio de Franciſco. Keeping near the ſhore, in order to elude the vigilance of the centinels at the watch-houſe; they advanced, in deep ſilence, until they recovered the point of the harbour, under the high-land. Here, a part of the crew became anxious for their own ſafety, and, in the language of apprehenſion, took notice of the extent, and ſtrength of the place which they were preparing to attack. It was now neceſſary that not a moment ſhould be left for that deliberation by which the firſt emotions of cowardice are ſo frequently increaſed, and Drake purſued his courſe with ſuch celerity, that he reached the town, a full hour before day-light. At this juncture, a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of ſixty tons, and freighted with Canary wine, having entered the bay, and not yet furled her ſprit-ſail, diſpatched a Gondola, to inform the Spaniards that four pinnaces, apparently belonging to an enemy, were approaching; but the Engliſh, by ſtanding in between this barge, and the ſhore, obliged her to paſs over to the oppoſite ſide. They now diſembarked, and proceeded, without the leaſt oppoſition, to an adjoining platform, at a ſmall diſtance from the houſes. Here, they found, and immediately diſ-

mounted from their carriages, ſix large braſs cannons, ſeveral demi-culverins, and ſome whole culverins. A gunner, who ſtood on the platform, previous to their landing, eſcaped, and gave the alarm of danger to the inhabitants (*h*).

Having left twelve men to guard the pinnaces, Drake directed his brother, together with John Oxenham, to enter the town, (at the head of ſixteen men,) by the back front of the royal treaſury, and near to the eaſt end of the market-place; propoſing to conduct, at the ſame time, the reſt of his aſſociates, with the ſound of drums, and trumpets, up the broad ſtreet which led to it.

The fire-pikes which at once ſerved to terrify the Spaniards, and give light to their aſſailants, were equally divided into two companies. The inhabitants were ſeized with conſternation, and hearing the noiſe of warlike inſtruments, in different places, ſuppoſed themſelves on the point of being overpowered by numbers. The Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſupported by ſeveral of the citizens, appeared in arms, and drew up at the ſouth-eaſt end of the market place, adjoining to the palace of the governor.

The Engliſh advanced ſteadily, and, having received the fire of their Opponents, returned it by a general diſcharge of ſmall arms, and of arrows. Each party, now, came to cloſe quarters, when Drake, and his intrepid followers, by unremitted attacks with pikes, ſwords, and the ends of muſkets, obliged the Spaniards to give ground. At this inſtant, the other company marched forwards to the engagement, and the enemy threw down their arms, and fled, with precipitation, from the town. Two were ſeized, during their endeavours to eſcape, and obliged to conduct their ſubduers to the reſidence

(*h*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

ſidence of the governor, in whoſe cuſtody was the treaſure which had been brought from Panama. In a lower apartment of the houſe, the Engliſh perceived a pile of ſilver bars, each of which appeared to be thirty pounds, in weight, and, with the reſt, extended nearly ſeventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in heighth. Drake ſtrictly commanded his men to leave the bars untouched, and ſtand reſolutely to their arms, not only becauſe the people were returning, in multitudes, to the town; but, becauſe it would be more advantageous to refrain from plunder, until the ſucceſs of the intended attempt to force the royal treaſury, where was depoſited a quantity of gold, and jewels, which all their pinnaces were not ſufficiently capacious to contain.

Scarely were the Engliſh returned to their arms, than news arrived that their veſſels were in danger of being ſeized, and that if they ſhould neglect to repair on board, before the morning was advanced, they, probably, would be overpowered by the increaſing numbers of armed citizens, and ſoldiers. The brother of Drake, and John Oxenham, were immediately diſpatched to make inquiries concerning the occaſion of this report, and found that it aroſe chiefly from the timidity of the men appointed to guard the pinnaces, who had judged their deſtruction to be inevitable, from the moment that they perceived a large party of the Spaniards, running haſtily from place, to place, with lighted matches, and warlike weapons in their hands.

At this juncture, the Engliſh, within the town, were expoſed to the violence of a tempeſt, by which their bow-ſtrings, matches, and powder, were rendered wet, and totally unfit for ſervice. Alarmed at their apparent danger, they murmured at the temerity of

Drake, who reproaching them with cowardice, declared that if they deſiſted from their enterprize, after having been conducted to the very door of the place where an immenſe treaſure was depoſited, they muſt expect to meet with equal infamy, and cenſure. Without waiting for a reply, he commanded his brother, together with John Oxenham, and his party, inſtantly to force the houſe, and expreſſed his determination to ſecure the market-place, whilſt they were buſied in the execution of this important enterprize. In the moment that he had ſpoken, the blood trickled, in quantities, from his leg, and he fell, fainting, to the ground; a circumſtance which equally affected, and ſurprized his comrades, from whom, in order to prevent a baleful deſpondency, at the appearance of a wounded leader, he had concealed the injury which he received, at the commencement of the action, from a Spaniard, who diſcharged his piece at him, in too unerring a direction.

Having recovered from the fit, he was earneſtly intreated by his aſſociates to repair on board, and procure the neceſſary aſſiſtance, in his diſabled ſituation; but, ſenſible that, during his abſence, the enterprize would be relinquiſhed, he tied his ſcarf about the wound, and declared his reſolution to proceed immediately to the attack. After ſo poſitive a refuſal to comply with the interceſſions of his friends, he was carried, by force, into the pinnace, and rowed, with all expedition, from the ſhore. Thus ended the attempt to ſeize an immenſe treaſure, conſiſting of three hundred, and ſixty tons of ſilver, and a far greater quantity of gold. In the action, ſeveral of the men were wounded, and a trumpeter was ſlain (*i*).

On

(*i*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

On the twentieth of July, after having taken the Spaniſh veſſel freighted with Canary wine, they departed, with her, from the harbour, and, ſoon afterwards, arrived at the neighbouring iſland of Baſtimientes, from whence they returned, on the twenty-ſecond, to their ſhips, at Pinas.

On the twelfth of Auguſt, captain Rawſe took a final leave, and ſailed for *England*, with the bark, the Spaniſh caravel, and the ſloop without oars. At the ſame time, the brother of Drake, and Ellis Hixon, who, had been ſent to make diſcoveries to the weſtward, and near the river Chagro, returned with favourable accounts. Drake, therefore, immediately ſteered his courſe, with his two ſhips, and the three pinnaces, for Carthagena. Here, he arrived on the thirteenth, and, after a ſhort engagement, took two Spaniſh veſſels, of which, one was of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons. On the ſucceeding day, he made prizes of two frigates, and, having ſtripped all theſe of ſuch articles as were uſeful, permitted them to depart. He, next, ſet fire to the Swan, one of his own ſhips, and turned the crew over to the pinnaces, which were not, until that period, ſufficiently manned. On the ſixteenth, he ſailed towards the ſound of Darien. and, after a paſſage of five days, arrived at an unfrequented harbour, where he remained, during a fortnight, without being diſcovered by the enemy (*k*).

Not to extend this memoir beyond its proper limits, let it be ſufficient to remark that from the end of Auguſt, until the month of April, in the ſucceeding year, Drake, and his aſſociates, enriched themſelves by the capture of ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips, at ſea, and the acquiſition of valuable booties, on the ſhore. Soon after this period had been elapſed, our adventurer engaged

(*k*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

gaged in a friendly intercourſe with the Symerons, a tribe of Indians, who had deſerted from their maſters, at Nombre de Dios, and Panama. To Pedro, the captain of theſe people, Drake had preſented a rich cutlaſs, and, in return, received four large wedges of gold, all of which he added to the common ſtock, obſerving that he thought it "juſt that thoſe who "bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his "credit, ſhould ſhare the utmoſt advantages which "it produced (*l*)." Pedro, the inveterate enemy of the Spaniards, not only informed Drake that the Muleteers were travelling from Panama, with the treaſure, but directed ſome Negroes to conduct him to the road on which it would be moſt prudent to intercept them. Aſſiſted by an hundred of his aſſociates, Drake attacked them unexpectedly, and, putting the guards to flight, ſeized two Rocoes, or ſtrings of mules, laden with thirty tons of ſilver, beſides gold. Of the laſt, the Engliſh carried the greater part, on board their veſſels. What remained, they buried, at a conſiderable depth, in the ſand of a ſhallow river. Of the ſilver, only fifty tons were concealed within a pit, which they had digged for the purpoſe of receiving it. Unable to carry the reſt over the high mountains, they left it ſcattered about the road.

Their next enterprize was near the river Chagro, and, at a place, called Venta de Cruz, or the Houſe of Croſſes. Here, they diſcovered vaſt quantities of merchandize, too unwieldly to be conveyed away; and, in the wanton ſpirit of barbarity, ſlew ſeven of the merchants, deſtroyed goods to the value of two hundred thouſand ducats, and, then, reduced the place to aſhes.

(*l*) Sir Francis Drake revived.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 552.

aſhes. They had ſcarcely reached their ſhips, when an hundred Spaniards appeared in arms, advancing to the ſhore (*m*).

Juſtly hath it been remarked (*n*), that this expedition may be conſidered as one of thoſe facts which prove that things really happen which are altogether improbable; and which, but for the weight of evidence that attends them, would not only be deemed fictions, but abſurdities. The gallant Drake attended by an inconſiderable number of aſſociates, marched twice, through unknown ways, into the heart of a country belonging to enemies who, urged by implacable revenge, had ſought for him, at land, and on the ocean. Of the ſpirit, and perſeverance with which he conducted his enterprizes, it is not poſſible to give the reader a more ſtriking idea than in the following narration.

On his return, with his companions, to Rio Franciſco, he was aſtoniſhed to perceive a number of Spaniſh ſloops, at anchor, near the ſhore, inſtead of the Engliſh pinnaces which had been ordered to wait, in readineſs to receive him. On this occaſion, it was natural to imagine that they had been ſeized by the enemy, and that the crews, to avoid the torture, had diſcovered the place, at which the Engliſh ſhips were ſtationed. Senſible that the only method of ſecuring the treaſure, and facilitating his return to his native country, was to repair inſtantly to his veſſels, before the Spaniards could have time to take them, he gave orders that ſome trees ſhould be ſo effectually laſhed together as to form a kind of raft. Of this, a biſcuit-bag became the ſail, whilſt a plank was ſhaped into

(*m*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. Note *t*. p. 551.

into an oar, as the beſt ſubſtitute for a rudder. Eager to proceed, Drake placed himſelf on this dangerous machine, and, in a tone of chearful fortitude, exclaimed, "Are none ſo brave that they will follow "me?" At this inſtant, John Smith, two Frenchmen, and a Negro, declared their reſolution to attend him. With theſe, he put off to ſea, and ſat, during ſix hours, up to the waiſt in water, and, in continual peril of being daſhed overboard by the waves which at every ſurge, roſe higher than his breaſt. At length, he deſcried, but at a conſiderable diſtance, two pinnaces ſailing before the wind, and advancing towards the raft. Drake, and his aſſociates, had ſcarcely expreſſed their joy at the ſuppoſed appearance of their friends (by whom, however, they were not ſeen, as they lay low on the water,) when the pinnaces took ſhelter from the approaching night, and the increaſed violence of the wind, behind an adjacent promontory. Mortified, but not intimidated by this event, Drake inſtantly ran the raft aſhore, and, proceeding, by land, to the pinnaces, had the good fortune to diſcover that they were his own. Notwithſtanding the violence of the tempeſt, he obliged his company to row that night to Rio Franciſco, from whence (having received the remainder of his men on board, together with their plunder,) he ſet ſail at break of day. When he had regained his ſhips, he divided his treaſure, by weight, into equal portions, and preſented one portion to the crew of a French ſhip, whoſe fidelity, and fortitude, had been ſingularly conſpicuous in the preceding expedition. In about twelve days afterwards, Drake repaired, with a ſingle pinnace, to Rio Franciſco, where John Oxenham, Thomas Sherwill, ten Mariners, and ſixteen Negroes diſembarked in ſearch of the gold, and ſilver, which had been buried in the ground.

ground. On their arrival, they perceived that a part of the treaſure had been diſcovered, and retaken by the Spaniards. The remainder, conſiſting only of ſome coits of gold, and thirteen bars of ſilver, they brought in ſafety to their ſhip

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that when Drake, attended by the Symerons, was travelling the country, he aſcended to the ſummit of a lofty mountain, from whence he diſcerned the ſouthern ocean, lying eaſt, and weſt, between the two ſeas. Fired at the ſight, he immediately conceived the project of gratifying, at a future æra, his love of fame, and hope of affluence; nor did he quit the ſpot until he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, to attempt that enterprize, in which he afterwards ſucceeded.

The greateſt, and almoſt ſole misfortune which befel Drake, in the courſe of this extraordinary voyage, was the loſs of his two brothers, ſoon after his departure from Rio Franciſco, to England, where he arrived, on the ninth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-three, after having ſailed from Cape Florida, to the Iſles of Scilly, in the ſpace of twenty-four days (*o*).

We next find this illuſtrious adventurer taking the command of three frigates equipped at his own expence. With theſe, he ſailed to Ireland, where, ſerving as a volunteer, under Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, he confirmed, by his intrepidity, and good Conduct, the public opinion of his exalted merit (*p*). At the deceaſe of his benefactor, he returned to England, and was introduced to Elizabeth, by Sir Chriſtopher Hatton,

(*o*) Campden, p. 351.—Sir Francis Drake revived—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p, 154. 159.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 548. 553.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

ton, at that period, vice-chamberlain, and privy-counſellor (*q*). Having obtained from his Sovereign a gracious approbation of his intended attempt to circumnavigate the globe, he immediately gave orders for the equipment of five veſſels. Theſe were the Pelican, Admiral, commanded by himſelf, and of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth (Captain John Winter), of the burthen of eighty tons; the Marigold, a bark, of the burthen of thirty tons, and commanded by John Thomas; the Swan fly-boat, (Captain John Cheſter), of the burthen of fifty tons; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace, commanded by Thomas Moon, and of the burthen of fifteen tons. Amongſt the crews of this ſquadron, were one hundred, and ſixty-three robuſt, and experienced Mariners. The reſt were officers, muſicians, and domeſtics. With the real deſigns of Drake, but few of his aſſociates were acquainted, and the majority had been taught to believe that the ſhips were bound only to Alexandria.

At three in the afternoon of the fifteenth of November, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven, Drake (a ſtranger to the enterprizes of Oxenham), (*r*) ſet ſail from Plymouth; immediately after his departure, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Pelican loſt her main-maſt by the board, and another veſſel parted from her anchors, and ran aſhore. In order to repair the damages ſuſtained by his ſquadron, Drake returned immediately to Plymouth, from whence he again proceeded, on the thirteenth of the following month of December.

On the twenty-fifth, he approached Cape Cantin, in Barbary, and in the latitude of thirty-one degrees, North.

(*q*) Stowe's Annals, p. 107.

(*r*) See volume the ſecond of this work, p. 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191.

North. He next (s) arrrived at the iſland of Magador, and gave directions for the conſtruction of a pinnace, the pieces of which had been brought from England.

Whilſt a part of the crew were employed on this buſineſs, ſeveral of the natives approached the ſhore, and having diſplayed a flag of truce, and adjuſted the exchange of hoſtages, came immediately on board. Apparently delighted with the courteous behaviour of the admiral, and proud to have obtained ſome preſents of linen-cloth, ſhoes, and a javelin, they promiſed to return on the following day, with ſheep, fowls, and the neceſſary produce of the country. Early the next morning, they came to the ſea-ſide with laden camels, when a boat was diſpatched from the Pelican, for the purpoſe of receiving ſuch articles as the inhabitants might chuſe to relinquiſh in the way of traffic. When the Engliſh had reached the land, John Fry, the foremoſt of the crew, ran eagerly to embrace the iſlanders, when, on a ſudden, they ſeized him by the throat, and preſenting a dagger to his breaſt, obliged him to mount a horſe, on which he inſtantly was led away. It appeared, afterwards, that their deſign was not to injure the man, but only to learn from him the deſtination of the fleet, and whether it belonged to the Portugueſe, with whom the people of Fez were then at war. When the king of the iſland was informed that the ſhips were in the ſervice of the queen of England, and had arrived to eſtabliſh a peaceable, and commercial intercourſe, he would have ſent Fry with valuable preſents to the admiral, but, learning that the ſhips were departed, gave orders that he ſhould be hoſpitably treated, and conveyed to England, (which was the caſe,) in the firſt veſſel of that nation, which might touch at Magador, on her Paſſage, homewards.

No

(s) December 27th.

No ſooner was the pinnace conſtructed than the fleet ſet ſail, and, on the ſame day (*t*), coaſting along the ſhore, intercepted, and took three Spaniſh fiſhing veſſels; and ſoon afterwards, made prizes of three caravels. On the ſeventeenth of January, the Engliſh arrived at Cape Blanco, in twenty-one degrees of north latitude, where they found a ſhip, with only two men on board, which they ſeized, and carried into the harbour. During their abode of four days, at this place, the crews were muſtered, and exerciſed by Drake. At length, having taken ſome neceſſaries from the fiſhermen, and, likewiſe, obliged them to exchange a veſſel of the burthen of forty tons, for the little bark, called the Chriſtopher; the Engliſh departed, on the twenty-ſecond of January, and, proceeding to the Cape de Verd iſlands, obtained a plentiful ſupply of all refreſhments, at Mayo.

From thence, they ſailed, on the thirty-firſt of January, towards Saint Jago, the principal of theſe iſlands, but did not ſtand in too cloſe, from an apprehenſion of the inhabitants. Here, they chaſed two Portugueſe veſſels, and took one, which was freighted with wine. The admiral, having diſmiſſed all her company, excepting Nuno de Silva, the maſter, (whoſe perfect knowledge of the coaſt of Brazil, made it neceſſary that he ſhould be detained, to officiate as pilot,) gave the command of the veſſel to John Doughty, whom we ſhall have occaſion particularly to mention at the concluſion of this memoir. The Portugueſe, now, departed in a pinnace, which was given to them, by Drake, together with a butt of wine, and a proper allowance of proviſions. At the ſame time, the Engliſh proceeded on their expedition, and paſſed by the iſlands of Fuego, and Brama. On the thirteenth of *March*,

(*t*) December 31ſt.

March, they croſſed the equinoctial line; and, on the fifth of April, having been ſixty-three days, at ſea, without obtaining any ſight of land, they made the coaſt of Brazil, in thirty-three degrees of ſouth latitude. Still continuing their courſe, they, on the ſeventh, loſt the Chriſtopher, (a bark taken in Barbary,) during the violence of the tempeſt. Each veſſel was directed to ſteer a different courſe in ſearch of her; and, on the eleventh, the whole ſquadron met at the ſame place; a circumſtance ſo pleaſing to the admiral, that he called the rendezvous Cape Joy. Here, they found a fertile ſoil, delightful views, a mild climate, and a ſalubrious air. The Deer, of an uncommon ſize, were ſeen grazing on the plains; but not a ſingle inhabitant could be diſcovered, although the prints of human feet were viſible on the clay. On the twenty-ſixth, they arrived at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, (or the river of Plate,) and obſerved a vaſt number of ſea-calves, or ſeals.

At this juncture, the Marigold, and Chriſtopher, having diſcovered a convenient harbour, of which they had been ſent in ſearch, all the ſhips entered it, and came to an anchor. Whilſt the Engliſh were working on the ſhore, they were accoſted courteouſly, but not with any marks of fear by the inhabitants, whoſe bodies were painted, and who wore no cloathing, except the ſkins of beaſts, tied cloſely round their waiſts. Having ſailed from this haven, farther to the ſouthward, our adventurers arrived, on the twentieth of June, at port Saint Julian, at which place they found a gibbet that had been erected by Magellan, for the execution of mutineers; and, here it was that Doughty, the ſecond in command, was beheaded for having conſpired againſt his admiral.

Departing, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, from Saint Julian, with three ſhips, (the two ſmalleſt veſſels having been turned adrift, in order that the crews might reinforce the largeſt) the Engliſh arrived on the twentieth, at the ſtreight of Magellan. After a difficult, and tedious paſſage of ſixteen days, they entered into the Southern, or Pacific Ocean, where, contrary to their expectations, they were driven back nearly an hundred leagues to the weſtward, by the violence of the winds, and ſtorms, during which the Marigold, a bark, commanded by captain Thomas, was unfortunately loſt.

As a naval writer (*u*) obſerves that the following fact is but little known, as not having appeared in any relation of this celebrated voyage, we preſent the reader with an account of it, in the words of a contemporary hiſtorian (*x*): "In all the ſtreights it ebb-"eth, and floweth, more, or leſs. If a man be fur-"niſhed with wood, and water, and the wind prove "favourable, he may keep the main ſea, and go round "about the ſtreights to the ſouthward; and this is the "ſhorter way. For, beſides the experience which "we made that all the ſouth part of the ſtreights is "but iſlands, many times having the ſea open, I "remember that Sir Francis Drake told me that having "ſhot the ſtreights, a ſtorm took him, firſt, at north-"weſt, and afterwards veered about to the ſouth-weſt, "which continued with him, many days, with that "extremity that he could not open any ſail, and that "at the end of the ſtorm, he found himſelf in fifty "degrees, which was a ſufficient proof that he was "beaten

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 555.
(*x*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, &c. p. 95.

"beaten round about the ſtreights; for the leaſt "heighth of the ſtreight is in fifty-two, and fifty de- "grees, in which ſtand the two entrances, or mouths. "And moreover, he ſaid that ſtanding about when the "wind changed, he was not well able to double the "ſouthermoſt iſland, and therefore anchored under the "lee of it; and going aſhore, carried a compaſs with "him, and ſeeking out the ſouthermoſt part of the "iſland, caſt himſelf down upon the uttermoſt point, "groveling, and ſo reached out his body over it. Soon "afterwards, he embarked, where he acquainted his "people, that he had been upon the ſouthermoſt known "land in the world, and farther to the ſouthward "upon it, than any man yet known." A learned hiſtorian remarks (*y*) that this narrative is confirmed by the writer of an old chronicle, wherein it is added that Drake beſtowed on this iſland the name of Elizabetha, in honour of his royal miſtreſs.

Near the fifty-ſeventh degree of ſouthern latitude, the Engliſh entered within a bay, and obſerved a ſavage tribe of people, without raiment, and paſſing, in their canoes from place, to place, in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They, next, proceeded northwards, and, on the third of October, diſcovered three iſlands, in one of which were innumerable flocks of birds. On the eighteenth, the Elizabeth under the command of captain John Winter, was ſeparated from the Pelican, and returning through the ſtreight, arrived ſafely in England, on the ſecond of June, in the ſucceeding year, being the firſt veſſel that ever came back, by that courſe. Drake, with a ſingle ſhip, was driven into fifty-five degrees of ſouthern latitude, from whence, he, with the utmoſt difficulty, regained the heighth of the ſtreight.

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 555.

Having advanced thus far, and concluding that the Chili-Shore, as marked upon the map, was preciſely correſpondent to its real ſituation, he ſteered his courſe north-weſt, but perceived his error, in the moment that the land appeared, lying to the north-eaſt, or eaſtwards. Hence did it ſeem evident that this part of Chili, had either never been exactly diſcovered, until that period, or not truly reported by the ſpace of at leaſt twelve degrees. Whether ignorance, or an intention to miſlead, gave riſe to this deſcription is not eaſy to determine.

Again purſuing their courſe, the Engliſh, on the twenty-ninth of November, made the iſland of Machao, in thirty-eight degrees, and thirty minutes; and, ſoon afterwards, caſt anchor. The admiral, having ordered that the boat ſhould immediately be manned, diſembarked, with ten of his aſſociates. They were quickly ſurrounded by the inhabitants, who, apparently inclined to peace and hoſpitality, preſented them with two exceeding fat Sheep, ſome Potatoes, and various roots. Theſe ſavages received, afterwards, with every outward mark of amity, and ſatisfaction, ſeveral articles of European merchandize. On the day following, the admiral ſent two of the crew, on ſhore, with barrels, which they were directed to fill with water. Immediately on their landing, they were attacked by thoſe very natives, who, at a former interview, had ſeemed ſo gentle, and inoffenſive. Whether they were regarded as Spaniards, is uncertain; but there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were dragged to a retired ſpot, and treacherouſly murdered, as multitudes of the ſavages ran furiouſly to the ſhore, and diſcharged a volley of arrows at the nine Engliſhmen appointed to guard the boat. Of theſe, all were ſeverely wounded.

When,

When, with difficulty, they had reached the ſhip, the admiral, who judged it neceſſary to eſcape, with precipitation, from dangers that could not be reſiſted, gave orders to prepare for ſailing. The veſſel was no ſooner under way than he expreſſed his reſolution to ſteer towards the coaſt of Chili. Thither, he arrived in ſafety, and was informed by an Indian fiſherman (who hailed him from his canoe,) that a large Spaniſh ſhip, richly freighted, and returned from the kingdom of Peru, was at anchor off Valparizo. Thither the Engliſh ſoon arrived, attended by the Indian, who officiated as pilot. The Spaniards, miſtaking them for fellow-ſubjects, prepared to welcome their approach; and, as a mark of joy, drank to them, by beat of drum, in cups of Chili wine. The violent hoſtilities with which this friendly ceremony was returned, convinced the Spaniards of their error; nor had they leiſure for oppoſition, before the Engliſh, ſeizing all the crew, (excepting one who leaped overboard, and ſwam to Saint Jago,) confined them underneath the hatchways, and took poſſeſſion of the ſhip. The cargo proved of immenſe value; and, amongſt other articles, were four hundred pounds of the Baldivian, or pureſt gold, together with a croſs of the ſame metal, richly ſtudded with emeralds (z). After this exploit, Drake and his aſſociates, proceeded to a neighbouring town, the houſes, and chapel of which, they ſtripped of all their contents, carrying away cedar-wood, Chili wine, ſilver chalices, and altar-cloths.

On the nineteenth of December, the Engliſh came to an anchor at Coquimbo, in twenty-nine degrees, and thirty minutes. Here, fourteen of the crew ventured aſhore, and were immediately attacked by a ſmall ar-

(z) M. S. Iſaac Caſaubon.

my of Spaniards, conſiſting of three hundred cavalry, and two hundred infantry. It is aſtoniſhing that theſe numbers ſhould have ſlain only one Engliſhman, and ſtill more extraordinary that baſely declining the conteſt, they ſhould have ſuffered the remaining thirteen to return in ſafety to their ſhips.

On the following day, they entered a more commodious haven, nearly in twenty eight degrees, and remained in it, during a full month, for the purpoſe of careening their own ſhips, and the Spaniſh prize, and alſo to conſtruct a pinnace.

Towards the end of January, they arrived at the port of Tarapaxa, and, on the adjoining ſhore, perceived a Spaniard, in a deep ſlumber, and lying near thirteen bars of ſilver, of the value of four thouſand ducats. Theſe, the Engliſh took, without diſturbing the perſon appointed to guard them, and immediately proceeded to a neighbouring place, where, diſembarking for water, they intercepted a Spaniard, and an Indian, who were conducting, along the road, eight Peruvian ſheep (*a*), each of which was laden with two leathern bags, containing, in the whole, one hundred pounds weight of pure ſilver. Theſe alſo the Engliſh ſeized, and having ordered the drivers to depart, carried the plunder ſafely to the ſhip. They, next, entered the port of Arica, in eighteen degrees, and thirty minutes of ſouthern latitude, where they found three ſhips, intirely deſtitute of crews, but laden with various

(*a*) It had been aſſerted that ſeveral of theſe ſheep were as large as cows of a common ſize, and much ſtronger. Three robuſt men, together with a boy, are mentioned to have ridden on their backs, at one time, when the creatures ſupported their weight, with eaſe. They had necks like camels; their wool was of an exceedingly fine texture; and their fleſh was eſteemed delicious.—Drake revived.

various articles of merchandize, and fifty-ſeven wedges of ſilver, each of which weighed twenty pounds. The Engliſh did not venture to attack a neighbouring town, conſiſting of twenty houſes, but ſtood off to ſea, and, ſhortly afterwards, intercepted a ſmall veſſel, freighted with linen-cloth. Of this they took a part, and then ſuffered the Spaniards to renew their courſe.

On the fifteenth of February, they arrived at Callao, the port of Lima, the capital of Peru, ſituated in eleven degrees, and fifty minutes of ſouth latitude, where they found twelve ſhips which were lying at anchor. No men were on board of theſe; a circumſtance not extraordinary at places ſo diſtant from Europe, and where neither pirates, nor enemies of any kind had been accuſtomed to approach. Previous to the arrival of Drake, only Magellan, and the Spaniards had navigated theſe ſeas. The latter conſtructed at Callao all the veſſels which were neceſſary for their voyages, in thoſe parts. The booty which the Engliſh took out of the twelve ſhips, conſiſted of great quantities of ſilk, and linen, a cheſt intirely filled with coined money, and fifteen hundred bars of ſilver.

Having cut the cables of the Spaniſh veſſels, and ſet them all adrift, the Engliſh ſailed in purſuit of the Cacofogo, a ſhip of immenſe value, which was ſuppoſed, from well-grounded information, to have proceeded in the month of February, on a voyage to Panama. During their cruize, the Engliſh intercepted, and took a Spaniſh brigantine, which they ſuffered to depart, after having ſeized eighty pounds weight of gold, a crucifix of the ſame metal, ſeveral emeralds of more than two inches in length; and a ſmall quantity of cordage. Shortly afterwards, they chaſed, and came up with the Cacofogo, near cape Saint Francis, in one

degree of north latitude, and at the diſtance of about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama.

The gold chain, worn by Drake, had been promiſed to the perſon who ſhould firſt deſcry this rich veſſel, and John, the brother of our brave adventurer, acquired it, by having diſcovered her, as he was ſitting in the top. At ſix, in the afternoon, the Engliſh came along ſide, and, having fortunately ſhot away her maſt, they boarded, and took her unreſiſting. The plunder conſiſted of an immenſe quantity of pearls, and jewels, eighty pounds weight of gold, thirteen cheſts full of coined ſilver, and twenty-ſix tons weight of unrefined ſilver. Having ſecured the whole of this treaſure, amounting in value nearly to ninety thouſand pounds ſterling, the Engliſh ſuffered the Cacofogo to depart.

They next proceeded to the weſtward, and, during their courſe, towards the middle of March, intercepted, and took a veſſel freighted with linen cloth, china-diſhes, and ſilk. From a paſſenger on board, who was a native of Spain, and of noble birth, Drake ſeized the figure of a falcon, wrought in maſſy gold, and bearing on its breaſt, an emerald of great ſize, and of immenſe value. Having ſecured the richeſt part of the cargo, and detained the pilot for the purpoſe of navigating their own ſhip, the Engliſh ſuffered the veſſel to proceed upon their voyage.

Drake, and his aſſociates, now ſteered towards the north, cruized off the coaſt of Mexico, and, on the fifteenth of April, landed at Acapulco. Here the judges were ſitting in court, and preparing to give ſentence againſt ſome negroes, who had been accuſed of a deſign to burn the town. The Engliſh put an immediate ſtop to all judicial proceedings, by ſeizing the magiſtrates, the evidences, and the criminals, all of whom were

were conveyed priſoners to the ſhip. This act of violence was followed by the ſackage of the town, the chief treaſure in which conſiſted of ſeveral rials of plate. The moſt valuable prize was taken by Thomas Moon, from a Spaniard, who vainly attempted to ſave himſelf by flight. It conſiſted of a ponderous gold chain, and ſeveral large jewels. Previous to his departure, the admiral ſet aſhore ſome Spaniſh priſoners, together with the Portugueſe pilot, whom he had compelled to enter on board the ſhip, at the iſlands of Cape de Verd.

The Engliſh next arrived at the iſle of Canno, where they unladed, and repaired the ſhip. In a few days after they had caſt anchor, a Spaniſh veſſel, bound to the Philippines, came within the harbour. They immediately ſearched her, and, having ſeized the moſt valuable part of the cargo, permitted the Spaniards, amongſt whom was the governor of the iſlands, to proceed, with their ſhip, upon the voyage.

The Engliſh were now ſated with plunder, and expreſſed an eager inclination to return home. An attempt to paſs the ſtreights of Magellan was deemed imprudent. They had heard of the multitude of rocks, and ſhallows, but were ignorant of their ſituation. There, alſo, the tempeſts were frequent, and dangerous; nor were theſe the only obſtacles: Drake had, learned, from good authority, that Don Franciſco de Toledo, the vice-roy of Peru, had ſent Peter Sarmiento, and other naval officers to the ſtreights, for the purpoſe of intercepting him on his paſſage. He, therefore, determined to ſteer his courſe by North America, and ſailed to the northern latitude of forty-three degrees, in order to diſcover whether any ſtreight was on that ſide by which he might return the moſt ſpeedily to England. His endeavours were ſoon fruſtrated; and

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the intenſe cold, dark Fogs, and drifts of ſnow which were blown by the hurricanes, even in the month of June, from the adjacent, and open ſhore, obliged him to put back into the latitude of thirty-eight degrees. Here, in the northern parts of California, he entered a commodious harbour, and was kindly received by the Indians who inhabited the neighbouring country. They were without raiment, appeared chearful in their diſpoſition, and with a mixture of mirth, and ſolemnity, formed a ring around the Engliſh, to whom they offered ſacrifices, and by the moſt ſignificant geſtures expreſſed an inclination to confer a kind of ſovereignty on the admiral.

Some hiſtorians have obſerved that the king of theſe Indians offered to reſign his authority to Drake, and to become his vaſſal, in confirmation of which the latter threw his chain of gold about the neck of the voluntarily depoſed ſovereign, and taking the crown of feathers, placed it on his own head. With whatſoever view the Indians purſued this extraordinary conduct, Drake ſeriouſly affected to aſſume the poſſeſſion of the territories, in the name, and for the uſe of queen Elizabeth. That the Engliſh nation might reap an advantage from a friendly intercourſe with theſe people was, at that period, no improbable conjecture, and the more eſpecially as the Spaniards had never viſited the country, nor ever diſcovered the land, by many degrees to the ſouthward of the place.

To this region, the ſoil of which was extremely fertile, Drake gave the appellation of New-Albion, not only becauſe it alluded to the ancient name of England, but becauſe, like that kingdom, it was ſurrounded on the ſea-ſide, by white banks, and cliffs. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, he erected a pillar, on which were inſcribed the titles of Elizabeth, the date of the

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arrival of the Engliſh (*b*), and his own name. At the bottom of the pillar were buried ſeveral Britiſh coins. During their reſidence at this place, the Engliſh had frequent interviews with the natives, who continually brought them the moſt valuable commodities as preſents, and, on every third day, came to offer ſacrifice, until Drake, by ſigns, expreſſed his abhorrence of the practice, and obliged them to deſiſt. By ſome appearances in veins on the ſurface of the earth, and the pieces of ground which were digged up, it was natural to conclude that there were mines of gold, and ſilver, but the Engliſh had no opportunity of procuring any of theſe valuable metals (*c*).

Having ſailed from New-Albion, the Engliſh loſt ſight of land, until the thirteenth of October, on the morning of which day, they arrived off certain iſlands, in eight degrees of North latitude, and were ſoon ſurrounded by Indians, in canoes which were rendered hollow within, and, on the outer ſide, appeared ſmooth, and ſhining, like burniſhed horn. The perſons who rowed them had cut the lower part of their ears into a circular piece, which was conſiderably diſtended by the weight of rings fixed within it, and hung down upon their cheeks. Their nails were a full inch in length from the extremity of the fingers, and their teeth were rendered black by art; a circumſtance which, in their opinion, was ſo neceſſary to conſtitute a part of beauty, that they frequently renewed the colour, by chew-

(*b*) June, 1579.

(*c*) Amongſt the deer, and other animals of this country, Purchas makes mention of a ſingular ſpecies of rabbit, the body of which was of the ſize of a Barbary rabbit, the head reſembling that of the European breed, and the feet like thoſe of a mole. It had the tail of a rat; and on each ſide, under the throat, were bags, in which it preſerved its meat.

chewing an herb, mixt with a kind of powder; the properties of which were to convert whatſoever it touched, into a deep jet. Theſe Indians appeared to be of gentle diſpoſitions, and preſented the Engliſh with fruit, and the various produce of the country.

On the eighteenth of October, Drake touched at ſeveral other iſlands, where he obſerved the traces of inhabitants, although none approached the ſhore. Continuing his courſe, he paſſed by the iſles of Faguloda, (abounding with cinnamon,) Zelon, and Zevenna. theſe were all in ſubjection to the crown of Portugal.

In the following month, the Engliſh departed from this coaſt, and proceeded to the weſtward, on their paſſage to the Moluccas, where they arrived at Ternate, the chief, and moſt fertile of the iſlands, and the reſidence of the king, who received his viſitors with ſuch magnificence, and hoſpitality, as beſpoke a refinement of manners which, at that period, was ſeldom found in countries even leſs diſtant from the more poliſhed, and well-regulated ſtates of Europe. Previous to the departure of Drake, this accompliſhed prince expreſſed a wiſh to caſt himſelf, with all his claims of empire, at the feet of ſo wiſe, and powerful a ſovereign as Elizabeth.

From the Moluccas, the Engliſh continued their voyage through dangerous ſeas, ſurrounded by iſlands, and beſet with rocks, on one of which their ſhip unfortunately ran, and ſtuck faſt during twenty-ſeven hours (*d*). From the firſt moment of the accident, the crew were inceſſantly employed in lightening the veſſel, and caſt overboard eight guns, three tons of cloves, and a large quantity of proviſions. Soon afterwards, and at a time when the ſprit-ſail was ſet, a bearing gale of wind took the ſhip in the quarter, and heaved her off.

On

(*d*) January 9, 1580.

On the eighth of February, they made the iſland of Borateve, (nearly ſeven degrees ſouth of the line,) the inhabitants of which were comely, and well proportioned, courteous to ſtrangers, and ſtrictly honeſt in their dealings. The country abounded, not only with mines of gold, and ſilver, but with quantities of valuable articles. Of all places which the Engliſh had viſited, except Ternate, this was the moſt plentifully ſupplied with every requiſite whatſoever that could adminiſter to the comforts, and conveniencies of exiſtence.

Departing from Borateve, on the tenth of February, they arrived at Java Minor, and were hoſpitably entertained by one of the five joint ſovereigns of the iſland, four of whom dined on board the ſhip. The admiral was here informed that ſome exceedingly large veſſels were cruizing at no conſiderable diſtance, and, therefore, judged it prudent to ſail immediately for the cape of Good Hope, where he arrived in the month of June. At this place, which on their return to England, they repreſented as the moſt delightful promontory that had been ever ſeen, they diſembarked, and ſearched, along the weſtern ſhore, for ſprings of freſh water. After much loſs of time, they returned without the leaſt ſucceſs, and were again reduced to the neceſſity of drinking rain-water, three butts of which (unequal, indeed, to the wants of fifty-ſeven men,) had prudently been ſaved. On the fifteenth of June, they doubled the cape, and, by a quick, and eaſy paſſage, diſcovered how groſsly the Portugueſe had impoſed on other nations, by falſe accounts of the dangers that attended it.

They next ſailed towards Rio Grande, in Negroland, where they arrived in the month of July, and having obtained the neceſſary quantity of freſh water, proceeded

ceeded on their courſe for England. At the cloſe of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty, the brave, and adventurous Drake, together with his aſſociates, arrived at Plymouth, and terminated a voyage, in which, to the aſtoniſhment of their fellow-ſubjects, and all Europe, they had compleatly ſurrounded the globe.

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that an hiſtorian (*e*), of reſpectable authority, hath differed from other authors in his account of the return of Drake. He obſerves that this adventurer came under the line, on the twelfth of July; that, on the ſixteenth, he made the coaſt of Guinea; that on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, he reached the height of the Canaries; that on the eleventh of September, he fell in with Tercera; that on the twenty-fourth, he approached the iſles of Scilly; and, on the twenty-fifth, arrived at Plymouth. The ſame hiſtorian adds that if Drake was not the firſt who could challenge this glory, yet he was indiſputably the ſecond, and next to Magellan, who died upon his paſſage. The former diſcovered, at his return, that he had loſt but one natural day of his reckoning, during the courſe of his voyage.

We cannot avoid obſerving with another naval writer (*f*), that it is extraordinary that not one of thoſe contemporaries who have related the enterprizes of Drake, ſhould preciſely mention the day of his arrival in England. Holingſhed fixes it on the twenty-ſixth of September; and Hackluyt, Camden, and many others, date it on the third of November: But Stowe, and ſeveral hiſtorians content themſelves with remarking that he returned towards the cloſe of the year; and hence, it is evident that, at this juncture, the exact time of his arrival cannot certainly be determined.

Al-

(*e*) Sir William Monſon.
(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 556.

Although the multitude were unable to withhold their approbation, and aſtoniſhment, when they conſidered the extraordinary enterprizes of this brave, and fortunate adventurer; yet ſeveral of the courtiers, who dreaded the reſentment of the Spaniards, ſuggeſted to Elizabeth the neceſſity of declaring that ſhe had never given the leaſt countenance to the undertaking, and was not only reſolved to puniſh Drake, but to compel him to reſtore the treaſures which he had ſeized. Whilſt a powerful party reproached him with acts of piracy, refuſed to accept of his proffered gold, inſiſted that it was equally dangerous, and diſgraceful for a trading nation to give the leaſt encouragement to the violent avarice, and ambition of a deſperate individual, complained that his conduct was not only a direct infraction of all the preceding treaties with Spain, but a breach of the ancient compact with the houſe of Burgundy, and vehemently aſſerted that the conſequences which muſt reſult from a public avowal of his proceedings would be much more fatal, than the benefits reaped from them could be advantageous; another party, not leſs formidable, alleged that his exploit was at once honourable to himſelf, and to his country, that it would occaſion all foreign nations to conceive the higheſt Idea of the maritime knowledge of the Engliſh, and raiſe an uſeful ſpirit of emulation amongſt the ſubjects of Elizabeth, and that, with regard to the money, no circumſtance could be more juſt than that the benefits ariſing from repriſals made by Drake, ſhould be enjoyed by the mercantile bodies of the ſtate, who had ſuffered grievouſly in conſequence of the faithleſs, and hoſtile practices of the Spaniards. The queen, charmed with the heroiſm, and enterprizing genius of this illuſtrious ſeaman, nor yet averſe from ſharing in the plunder, beſtowed on him the moſt public teſtimony

mony of her applauſe, and condeſcended to preſide at a magnificent entertainment which he gave at Deptford (*g*), on board of the veſſel that had performed this extraordinary voyage. On this occaſion, Elizabeth advanced him to the honour of knighthood, and directed that the ſhip ſhould be laid up in the dock, and carefully preſerved as a monument of national reputation (*h*). In proceſs of time, it became decayed, and was broken up, when a gentleman of the name of Davis, converted one of the planks into a chair, and preſented it to the univerſity of Oxford (*i*) (*k*).

When

(*g*) April 4, 1581.

(*h*) During this ceremony, ſome Wincheſter-ſcholars affixed the following verſes to the main-maſt.

Plus ultra Herculeis inſcribas Drace Columnis,
Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.

Drace, perrerati novit quem Terminus Orbis,
Quemque ſemel Mundi vidit uterque Polus,
Si taceant Homines, facient te Sidera notum:
Sol neſcit Comitis non memor eſſe ſui.
Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclita Stellis;
Supremo Cœli Vertice digna Ratis.

(*i*) A knight, whoſe zeal for the reputation of Drake, and his brave aſſociates, was certainly ſuperior to his taſte in architecture, propoſed that the chair ſhould be placed on the top of the cathedral of ſaint Paul. With more propriety, was it admitted within the muſeum of curioſities, at Oxford; an event which hath been thus celebrated by Cowley:

To this great ſhip which round the world hath run,
And match'd, in race, the chariot of the ſun,
This Pythagorean ſhip, (for, it may claim,
Without preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a name,)
By knowledge once, and transformation now,
In her new ſhape, this ſacred port allow.
Drake, and his ſhip could not have wiſh'd from fate
An happier ſtation, or more bleſſ'd eſtate:
For ſo a Seat of endleſs reſt is giv'n
To her in Oxford, and to him in heav'n.

(*k*) Of the perſons who accompanied Drake, only the following are mentioned by name. Thomas Drake, John

Drake,

When Bernardino de Mendoza, the ambaſſador from the court of Spain, exclaimed againſt the piracies of Drake, and demanded the fulleſt reſtitution, Elizabeth replied that "Philip, and his ſubjects who, contrary "to the law of nations, threw almoſt inſuperable im- "pediments againſt the foreign commerce of the Eng- "liſh, had drawn theſe miſchiefs upon themſelves; "that Drake ſhould be forth coming to anſwer ac- "cording to law, if he were convicted, by good evi- "dence, and teſtimony, to have committed any crime "againſt law, and right; that the goods were laid "by, purpoſely, that ſatisfaction might be made to the "Spaniards, although the queen had expended a great- "er ſum of money than Drake had brought in, to quell "the rebels whom Philip had raiſed, and encouraged "againſt her, both in England, and in Ireland. More- "over, ſhe underſtood not why her ſubjects, or thoſe "of any other prince, ſhould be debarred from the In- "dies, which ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that the "Spaniard had any juſt title to, by the donation of "the biſhop of Rome, (in whom ſhe acknowledged no "prerogative, much leſs authority, in ſuch caſes, ſo "as to lay any tie upon princes who owed him no "obedience, or obſervance, or, as it were to infeoff "the Spaniard, in that new world, and to inveſt him "with the poſſeſſion thereof,) nor yet by any other "claim than as they had touched, here, and there, "upon the coaſts, builded cottages, and given names "to a river, or a cape; which things cannot intitle "them unto a propriety. So that this donation of "what belongs to another man, which is of no validity

Drake, Thomas Hood, Thomas Blacoler, John Gripe, George, a muſician, Crane, Fletcher, Cary, Thomas Moone, John Thomas, Robert Winterly, and Oliver, a gunner.

" in law, and this imaginary propriety cannot hinder " other princes from trading into thoſe countries, and, " without breach of the law of nations, from tranſ- " porting colonies into thoſe parts thereof, where the " Spaniards inhabit not, (foraſmuch as preſcription, " without poſſeſſion, is little worth,) neither from " freely navigating that vaſt ocean, ſeeing that the uſe " of the ſea, and air is common to all mankind. Nor " can a title to the ocean belong to any people, " or to private perſons; foraſmuch as neither nature, " nor cuſtom permits any poſſeſſion thereof."

Notwithſtanding this ſpirited reply, Elizabeth, anxious to maintain ſome terms of peace with an adverſary at once ſo formidable, and incenſed as Philip, gave orders that a part of the plunder ſhould be delivered to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who ſtiled himſelf an agent for the merchants whom Drake had injured. The money was afterwards ſeized by the Catholic monarch, and employed partly for the purpoſe of paying the troops, raiſed by the prince of Parma, and partly for the ſupport of the Iriſh Inſurgents who had oppoſed the government of Elizabeth; a circumſtance which determined that princeſs to make no more reſtitutions to the Spaniards (*l*).

In

(*l*) The ſeveral particulars relating to this voyage round the world are taken from various manuſcripts belonging to the Cottonian library.—Camden's Annals.—Harris's Collection of voyages.—Sir William Monſon's Tracts.—Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire.—Stowe's Annals.—Burchett's Memoirs.—Hume's Hiſtory of England.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.—Hackluyt's voyages.—Purchas's Pilgrims.—The World encompaſſed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1652. quarto.—Dampier's Voyages, V. 4. p. 101. edit. 1729.—Holingſhed, V. 2.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations.—Speed.—and Sir Francis Drake revived.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, preparations were commenced by Drake, and the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, for an expedition to the Weſt-Indies. It was intended to be partly maritime, and partly invaſive. The naval armaments were to be commanded ſolely by the former, and the land-forces receive orders to act under the abſolute direction of the latter. On a ſudden, the queen ſignified her pleaſure that Sir Philip ſhould retire from this ſervice, and that Drake ſhould proceed immediately on the voyage.

The following is an authentic liſt of the fleet which was equipped on this occaſion.

The Elizabeth Bonaventure, admiral,	Sir Francis Drake, and, under him, captain Thomas Fenner.
Primroſe, vice-admiral,	Martin Frobiſher.
Galleon Leiceſter, rear-admiral,	Francis Knollis.
Aid,	Edward Winter.
Tiger,	Chriſtopher Carliſle, lieutenant-general.
Sea Dragon,	Henry White.
Thomas,	Thomas Drake.
Minion,	Thomas Seely.
Bark Talbot.	——— Bailey.
Bark Bond,	Robert Croſs.
Bark Bonner,	George Forteſcue.
Hope,	Edward Careleſs.
White Lion,	James Erizo.
Francis,	Thomas Moon.
Vantage,	John Rivers.
Drake,	John Vaughan.
George,	John Varney.

The Benjamin,	John Martin.
Scout,	Edward Gilman.
Galliot Duck,	Richard Hawkins.
Swallow,	—— Bitfield.

Concerning the burthen of the ſhips, and the number of their guns, our hiſtorians are ſilent. On board, were two thouſand, and three hundred volunteers, excluſive of the mariners. Chriſtopher Carliſle, a brave, and experienced warrior, equally verſed in the operations of ſhips, and armies, was appointed commander in chief of the land forces, and raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-general. Under him were Anthony Powel, captain, and ſerjeant-major, Matthew Morgan, and John Sampſon, captains, and corporals of the field, together with ten officers of diſtinction.

On the fifteenth of September, the whole fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, ſailing towards the coaſts of Spain, took ſeveral prizes of conſiderable value. At Bayonne, Vigo, and the iſle of Ferro, the troops diſembarked, in ſearch of plunder, of which the chiefeſt was the plate belonging to the cathedral at Vigo, together with a crucifix of an immenſe ſize, compoſed of maſſive ſilver, and doubly gilt. According to the computations of the Spaniards, their loſs amounted to the value of more than thirty thouſand ducats.

From theſe places, the Engliſh directed their courſe to Saint Jago, near Cape de Verde, and reached it on the ſixteenth of November. Having caſt anchor between that town, and another which was called Praje, Carliſle propoſed to take the former by ſurpriſe, and landing, in the duſk of the evening, at the head of one thouſand men, proceeded, without oppoſition, to a general pillage, during which, the ſoldiers ſeized great quantities of meal, wine, oil, and various proviſions, but could

could not diſcover any riches. Here, the Engliſh remained almoſt a fortnight, in expectation that either the governor, the biſhop, or ſome of the principal inhabitants of the town, and Iſland, would appear to offer advantageous terms for the prevention of hoſtilities. At length, concluding that they had withdrawn, and were reſolved not to return, whilſt an enemy was in ſight, the general directed his troops to reduce the town, and all the neighbouring houſes, except the hoſpital, to aſhes.

In the week after their departure from Saint Jago, the Engliſh were attacked by a contagious diſorder, to which, in a ſhort ſpace of time, almoſt two hundred were miſerably ſacrificed. On the eighteenth day, they arrived at Dominica, in the Weſt-Indies. Having procured a ſupply of freſh water, they ſailed to the iſland of Saint Chriſtopher, and remained there, in order to re-eſtabliſh their health, during the greater part of December, but were not viſited by any of the inhabitants.

At this place, it was determined, in a full council of war, that the fleet ſhould proceed to Hiſpaniola. Arriving there, on the firſt of January, the forces, amounting to twelve hundred men, were diſembarked, under the command of Carliſle, and immediately began their march towards the city of Saint Domingo. As they approached the weſtern gates, in two ſeparate bodies, they were feebly oppoſed by an hundred and fifty of the Spaniſh cavalry, receiving, at the ſame time, ſome vollies of ſhot from muſqueteers who were concealed behind the trees. After the firſt moment of reſiſtance, theſe affrighted adverſaries retired with precipitation, and tamely permitted their invaders to paſs forward into the city, from whence the townſmen (having fired, but with little effect, ſome

rounds of cannon,) fled, with every appearance of conſternation, and diſorder.

The Engliſh now drew up in two columns, near the market-croſs, and cloſe the cathedral, which they fortified, intending that it ſhould ſerve them, as a place of refuge, in the hour of danger. At midnight, the Spaniards, who had been quartered in the caſtle, diſcovering that the Engliſh were at the gate, deſerted from their poſts. Numbers were intercepted in their flight, and taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped in boats to the oppoſite ſide of the haven, and from thence, retreated into the country. On the day following, the Engliſh were ſtationed more at large, and, unmoleſted, kept poſſeſſion of the place, during a full month. At the expiration of this period, and whilſt the inhabitants remained unwilling to contribute any conſiderable ſums in order to ſecure themſelves from that deſtruction with which they had been threatened, the troops were directed to ſet fire to the buildings in the ſuburbs. A flame was ſcarcely lighted for the execution of this dreadful purpoſe, when each citizen entered into an agreement to redeem the town, with the ſum of twenty-five thouſand ducats. This compoſition was accepted, and quickly paid, when the Engliſh, after having ſeized a large ſtock of proviſions, mercery-wares, and houſehold-furniture, together with a ſmall quantity of plate, proceeded on their expedition.

They next approached towards Carthagena, at the diſtance of nearly five miles from which, the troops were diſembarked, whilſt the admiral, with his pinnaces, and boats compleatly manned, attempted, but without ſucceſs, to enter the harbour, which was defended by a ſtrong fort. In the mean time, the ſoldiers, under the command of Carliſle, advanced, at

mid-

midnight, ſilently along the ſhore, and before break of day, arrived at the town, and reduced it, after a ſhort engagement, during which ſeveral of the Engliſh were mortally wounded by arrows, the points of which had been dipped in venom, and alſo, by ſpikes which were driven into the paths, and like the former weapons, anointed with a poiſonous liquid. The Spaniards who had been warned of their approaching danger by the people of Hiſpaniola, took care to bury their chief treaſures in ſubterraneous places, and were, at firſt ſo averſe from parting with the leaſt portion of their property, that they refuſed to advance a ſum ſufficient to induce the conquerors to relinquiſh their deſign of ſetting fire to the city. But, when they perceived that the flames were burſting from ſeveral of the houſes, they intreated the general to give orders that the conflagration might be immediately extinguiſhed, and, in return, offered to ranſom the town for an hundred, and ten thouſand ducats, and the Abbey for one thouſand crowns. The propoſal was immediately aſſented to, and the money (paid upon the ſpot,) was equally divided between the mariners, and the ſoldiers.

The infectious diſorder which had raged, with ſuch fatality, amongſt his men, reduced the admiral to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing his deſign to attack Nombre de Dios, and, from thence, to proceed, by land, to Panama. Accordingly on the firſt of March, and after having remained during ſix weeks, at Carthagena, he ſteered his courſe for England. On the third day from his departure, a large Spaniſh veſſel, which had been taken at Saint Domingo, and, afterwards, freighted with ordnance, hides, and other articles of plunder, was diſcovered to be leaky, and, with difficulty, preſerved from ſinking before the whole fleet returned to

Carthagena, at which place the admiral ſtayed, for the ſpace of twelve days, until the veſſel was put into complete repair. Again proceeding on his voyage, He paſſed betwen Cuba, and Juccatan, and ſailing along the coaſts, came, at length, to an anchor near the ſmall towns of Saint Anthony, and Saint Auſtin, both of which had been abandoned by the Spaniards, and were, afterwards, reduced, by the Engliſh troops, to aſhes. Amidſt the plunder taken in the laſt, was a cheſt containing money to the value of two thouſand pounds ſterling, and deſigned to defray the expences of the army. The next intended enterprize of Sir Frances, and his aſſociates, was againſt the town of Saint Helena, at the diſtance of nearly twelve leagues to the northward; but the dangerous appearance of the Shoals, and the want of an experienced pilot, obliged this brave adventurer to change his plan of operations.

The Engliſh now ſailed along the coaſt of Florida, and, keeping near the ſhore, paſſed ſix degrees farther to the northward, until they reached the colony which had been planted in Virginia. On the ninth of June, they diſcerned a fire burning near the ſea-ſide, and, immediately, ſent an officer, in the boat, to make the neceſſary inquiries. At his return, he was accompanied by one of the new ſettlers, who, having directed the admiral to the moſt commodious harbour, was deſired to rejoin his aſſociates, and inform them that they might be ſupplied with ſuch ſtores as they wanted. On the following day, Mr. Ralph Lane, who preſided at the Engliſh fort, erected at Roanock, paid a viſit to Sir Francis, and earneſtly requeſted thoſe proviſions which could be ſpared, a reinforcement of men, a ſmall veſſel, and ſome proper boats, that ſo they might be enabled, in any future moment of diſtreſs to abandon the colony, (where they feared

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it was impoſſible to proſper,) and return, in ſafety, to the mother-country. A ſhip was inſtantly aſſigned to them, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries; but, in the very moment that they became poſſeſſed of this valuable preſent, a violent tempeſt aroſe, which laſted during three days, and, at length, drove the veſſel from her anchors, out to ſea. She, ſoon afterwards, diſappeared, and was ſeen no more, until her return to England.

The admiral again offered to furniſh them with another veſſel, but, dreading a perpetual miſcarriage of their enterprizes, they could not be prevailed on to accept it, and expreſſed a wiſh that they might be conveyed to England. Accordingly, they were all received on board the fleet, which, departing from the coaſt, on the eighteenth of June, arrived at Portſmouth, on the twenty-eighth of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix (*m*).

The value of the plunder taken, during the courſe of this enterprize, from the Spaniards, amounted to ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. They, alſo, loſt two hundred, and forty pieces of cannon, of which by far the greater number were compoſed of braſs. Forty thouſand pounds of the money ariſing from the different captures, were divided among the chief adventurers, and twenty thouſand pounds amongſt the mariners of the fleet. Each ſhare amounted nearly to ſixty pounds.

On this expedition, Sir Francis Drake was the firſt of his countrymen who landed in New-England, being a part of the continent diſcovered by Barlow, and Amidas. He remained, during two days on the coaſt, trading with the inhabitants, and previous to his departure,

(*m*) Mr. Lane is imagined to have been the firſt perſon who introduced the uſe of Tobacco in England.

parture, accepted, with great form, of the ſubmiſſion of one of the Indian kings to the authority of Elizabeth.

The profits accruing from the ſucceſs of his exploits were moderate, and, on this occaſion, it was inſinuated that Drake choſe rather to weaken the enemy, than enrich himſelf. In confirmation of the idea, an hiſtorian (*n*) hath obſerved that it was a maxim, from which this illuſtrious adventurer never varied, to regard the ſervice of his country, firſt; next, the advantage of the Proprietors; and, laſt of all, but with due attention, his own intereſt. Hence, although rich in pecuniary acquiſitions, He was ſtill more opulent in reputation (*o*).

It cannot be improper to conclude our relation of this enterprize with the remarks of a contemporary, and diſcerning writer (*p*).

"The voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the firſt "undertaking on either ſide, (for it enſued immedi- "ately after the arreſt of our ſhips, and goods in "Spain,) I will deliver my opinion of it; and, with "the ſervice done, obſerve the miſtakes, and over-

"ſights

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 559.

(*o*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 353, &c.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 534.—Hiſtory of Virginia.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 213, &c.—Stowe's Annals, p. 709.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 558, 559.—Columna Roſtrata.—Britiſh Empire in America.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 169.—Sir Francis Drake revived.—A ſummary, and true Diſcourſe of Sir Francis Drake's Weſt Indian Voyage, accompanied with Chriſtopher Carliſle, Martin Frobiſher, Francis Knollys, and many other captains, and gentlemen, wherein were taken the towns of Saint Jago, Saint Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Auguſtine. London, 1652. Quarto.

(*p*) Sir William Monſon.

" ſights committed, as a warning to thoſe that ſhall " read them, and to prevent the like errors here- " after."

" One impediment to the voyage is that to which " the ill ſucceſs of divers others which followed after- " wards is to be imputed, namely, the want of vic- " tuals, and other neceſſaries fit for ſo great an expe- " dition; for had not the fleet, by chance, met with " a ſhip of Biſcay, on her return from Newfoundland, " laden with fiſh, which relieved their wants, they had " been reduced to great extremity."

" The Engliſh fleet was the greateſt (if we except " that of the Spaniards) which had been ever ſeen in " thoſe ſeas, ſince the firſt diſcovery of them; and " if it had been as well conſidered of before their go- " ing from home, as it was happily performed by the " valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the " king of Spain than all other actions that enſued, " during the time of the war."

" But it ſeems that our long peace made us incapa- " ble of advice in war; for had we kept, and de- " fended theſe places, when in our poſſeſſion, and pro- " vided to have been relieved, and ſuccoured out of " England, we had diverted the war from this part of " Europe; for, at that time, there was no compariſon " betwixt the ſtrength of Spain and England, by ſea, " by means whereof we might have better defended " them, and, with more eaſe, have encroached upon " the reſt of the Indies, than the king of Spain could " have aided, or ſuccoured them."

" But now we ſee, and find by experience, that " thoſe places which were then weak, and unfortified, " are ſince ſo fortified that it is to no purpoſe to us to " annoy the king of Spain, in his Weſtern Indies. And

" al-

" although this voyage proved both fortunate, and " victorious, yet conſidering that it was rather an " awakening, than a weakening of him, it had been " far better to have wholly declined, than to have un- " dertaken it upon ſuch ſlender grounds, and with ſo " inconſiderable forces."

The Biſcayan ſhip alluded to in the preceding quotation was the firſt Spaniſh prize taken after the commencement of the war, nor can we give the reader a better account of this ſingle engagement, than in the words of the ſame hiſtorian:

" I was then a youth of ſixteen years of age, " and ſo inclined to ſee the world abroad, that with- " out the knowledge of father or mother, I put " myſelf into an action by ſea, where there was in " company of us two ſmall ſhips fitted for men of " war, that authorized us, by commiſſion, to ſeize " upon the ſubjects of the kingdom of Spain. We de- " parted from the Iſle of Wight, to which place we " returned with our dear bought prize. She was a Biſ- " cayner, of the burthen of three hundred tons, well " manned, ſufficiently furniſhed, and bravely defended. " She came from Grand Bay in Newfoundland, and " was met by us at our firſt arrival upon the coaſt of " Spain. As ſhe refuſed to yield to us, we ſuddenly " boarded, and by conſent of all our men entered her; " but the waves of the ſea growing very high, we were " forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting " on board of her, from eight of the clock in the " evening, until eight in the morning."

" The Spaniards betook themſelves to their cloſe " fight, and gave two attempts, by trains of powder " to blow up her decks, on which we were; but we " happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued

" the

" the fight until ſeven in the morning, when the Spa-
" niards found that they had ſo many men killed, and
" diſabled, that they were forced to yield."

" When we came to have a view of our people, we
" found few left alive, but could ſhew a wound, or
" ſhot through their cloaths, in that fight. We were
" a woeful ſpectacle, as well as the Spaniards; and I
" dare ſay that, in the whole time of the war there
" was not ſo rare a manner of fight, or ſo great a
" ſlaughter of men on both ſides."

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, the queen received intelligence that her ambitious and reſtleſs adverſary Philip, notwithſtanding that he publickly affected to be inſenſible of thoſe repeated inſults which were offered to him by the Engliſh, was ſecretly preparing a formidable naval armament, to be employed againſt her, in the enſuing ſummer. She, therefore, appointed Sir Francis Drake to the command of a fleet deſigned to intercept the ſupplies of that monarch, to lay waſte his coaſts, and to deſtroy his ſhipping.

How well enabled the Spaniards were to carry their deſigns into execution, and by what means the impending danger was made known to the miniſters of Elizabeth, may be gathered from the following paſſage, in a letter, written by Sir Francis Drake, the ſucceſsful hero who was choſen to enfeeble, and retard the meaſures of an exaſperated foe, who meditated the abſolute deſtruction of a people, whoſe growing power he beheld with jealouſy, and whoſe religious principles he had been taught to execrate.

" The Spaniards had proviſions of bread and wine
" ſufficient to laſt, and maintain forty thouſand men,
" during the whole year. The ſecretary, Sir Francis
" Walſingham, had intelligence from Madrid, that Phi-

" lip

"lip aſſured his council that he had diſpatched an "expreſs to Rome, with a letter written, with his own "hand, to the Pope, acquainting him with the true "deſign of his preparations, and aſking his bleſſing "upon them, which, for ſome reaſons, he would "not yet diſcloſe to them, until the return of the "courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the "Pope, Walſingham, by the means of a Venetian prieſt, "retained at Rome, as his ſpy, got a copy of the ori-"ginal letter, which was ſtolen out of a cabinet be-"longing to the Pope, by a gentleman of his Bed-"chamber, who took the keys out of his pocket, "whilſt he ſlept."

The fleet equipped, on this occaſion, amounted to thirty ſail, of which twenty-ſix were furniſhed by the moſt opulent merchants of London, whom Drake had particularly recommended to Elizabeth, and who were the more eager to contribute their aſſiſtance, as they had entertained hopes of ſharing in the expected plunder. The remaining four ſhips, and two pinnaces, belonged particularly to the queen. Their names were the Bonaventure, admiral; the Lion, commanded by William Borrough, the comptroller of the navy; the Dreadnought, captain Thomas Fenner; and Rainbow, captain Henry Bellingham.

Sir Francis proceeded from the ſound of Plymouth, at the commencement of the month of April, and ſteered towards the coaſt of Spain. On the ſixteenth, and, in the latitude of forty degrees, he intercepted two Dutch veſſels, on their paſſage to Middleburgh: From the commanders of theſe, he learned that a Spaniſh fleet, richly laden, and plentifully ſupplied with ammunition, and proviſions, was lying at Cadiz, in readineſs to ſail for Liſbon, the deſtined rendezvous of the invincible Armada. Having obtained this

informa-

information, he immediately haſtened to the former port, and arriving there on the nineteenth of the ſame month, began a furious attack, and forced ſix gallies which, at firſt, made head againſt him, to retire for ſhelter under the guns of the caſtle. He next, took, and either ſunk, or burned an hundred ſhips which were at anchor in the bay, and had on board a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, and naval ſtores. Amongſt the greater veſſels were a galleon of the burthen of twelve hundred tons, belonging to the marquis of Santa Croce, and a rich Raguſian merchantman, of the burthen of one thouſand tons, and mounting forty braſs cannon.

From the port of Cadiz, he proceeded, on the twenty-firſt, towards cape Saint Vincent, where he ranſacked the dwellings of the chief inhabitants reſiding on the coaſt; took the caſtle, by aſſault; reduced three adjoining fortreſſes; and, after having ſet on fire, all the fiſhing boats, together with the nets, ſet ſail for Caſcais, ſituated at the mouth of the river Tagus. Here, he challenged the marquis of Santa Croce to an engagement; but that officer declined it, and tamely permitted Drake to lay the adjoining country waſte, to pillage the naval armaments, and to deſtroy an hundred of the ſhips.

Merely to have conferred the moſt important ſervices on the ſtate of which he was a brave and active ſubject, was not ſufficient in the opinion of the merchants, who, eager to reap a more ſubſtantial profit from their diſburſements, complained that, too eager in the purſuit of martial glory, Sir Francis had neglected the leſs hazardous, but more advantageous opportunities of taking thoſe trading veſſels which were valuably laden. Reſolved to free himſelf from this ſingle imputation on his conduct, he inſtantly departed from Caſcais, and ſteered his courſe for the Azores. Soon after-

afterwards, and near the iſland of Saint Michael, he was ſo fortunate as to intercept the Saint Philip, a large Spaniſh Carrack, returning, richly freighted, from the Eaſt Indies. The cargo of this prize, although of immenſe value, was of leſs conſequence to the merchants than the papers which were found on board. From an inſpection of the laſt, they acquired ſo perfect a knowledge of the exact prices of all the Indian articles of traffic, and of the beſt method of maintaining a commercial intercourſe with the natives, that they ſoon afterwards, engaged largely in this particular branch of trade, and became eſtabliſhed as a company of Eaſt-India merchants.

The deſtruction of the naval armaments at Cadiz, the total Loſs of their proviſions, and ſtores, the capture of the galleons, and the carrack, and the various damages which the Spaniards had ſuſtained, reduced Philip to the neceſſity of deferring, all the ſucceeding year, the intended expedition againſt England; and alſo putting Elizabeth on her guard, afforded her ſufficient leiſure, and opportunities, to collect the proper means of defence againſt that formidable invaſion. It muſt be allowed (to borrow the language of a diſcerning writer (*q*), that no expedition, undertaken throughout the whole courſe of the war, was more fortunately conducted, either with reſpect to reputation, or to profit, than that of which we are now treating; nor can it be deemed extraordinary if, at his return, Sir Francis appeared elated by the compliments which he received. It hath been remarked that his pride was happily directed, and always vented itſelf in acts of ſervice to the public (*r*).

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(*q*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.

(*r*) Ibid.—The particulars relating to the expedition to Cadiz are taken from Camden's annals, p. 353.—Hackluyt, V. 2.

We, next, obſerve this illuſtrious hero engaged in the cultivation of one of the moſt ſalutary arts of peace, and ſupplying the town of Plymouth with freſh water, the want of which had, until that period, proved a diſtreſsful circumſtance to the inhabitants. This aqueduct was brought thither from ſprings which were diſtant, in a direct line nearly eight miles; but it forms a circuit of more than twenty miles, before it enters within the town (*s*).

Having already enquired into all the particulars reſpecting the defeat of the Armada, we need only refer the reader to the gallant conduct of Sir Francis Drake, at that celebrated period (*t*), and ſhall now treat of thoſe circumſtances connected with the expedition to Portugal.

Antonio, the prior of Crato, and a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, relying on that implacable hatred which his countrymen had conceived againſt the whole race of Caſtilians, had aſſerted his claim to the crown, and received ſome ſlight encouragement, in France, and England, from Henry and Elizabeth. For this pretender to ſovereignty, the people of England, independent of the courtiers, who remained inactive on the occaſion, had meditated a deſign to conquer Portugal. The commanders fixed upon were Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris. The charges of

V. 2. Part II. p. 121.—Strype, V. 3. p. 451.—Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 169.—Stowe, p. 709.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, folio, v. 1. p. 228.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.—Hume's hiſtory of England 8vo. v. 5. p. 327.

(*s*) Weſtcot's ſurvey of Devonſhire, MS.—Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Ridſon's ſurvey of Devonſhire, v. 1. p. 69, 70.

(*t*) See the ſecond volume of this work, from page 232, to page 305.

this enterprize, which was more remarkable as an inſtance of romantic bravery, than of diſcerning prudence, were chiefly defrayed by the principal adventurers. The queen, with her accuſtomed parſimony, took care to limit her contributions within the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, and, having permitted ſix only of her ſhips to attend Sir Francis, gave orders that he, together with his aſſociates, ſhould be aſſiſted in levying the proper number of mariners, and ſoldiers.

It may, in this place, be neceſſary to obſerve that the miſcarriages of the enterprize were aggravated by the negligence of thoſe powers who had promiſed to ſupport it. Inſtead of twelve pieces of artillery, the ſtipulated number, only eight were ſent; and of the Engliſh horſes, there was a deficiency of ſix hundred. Seven veteran companies of ſoldiers from the Low-Countries, four from Holland, and ſix men of war in the ſervice of that ſtate, were kept back, contrary to agreement. Add to this, the great loſſes ſuſtained both in money and proviſions, whilſt the ſhips lay windbound during a whole month, at Plymouth. The fleet, according to the account given by one hiſtorian (*u*), amounted to eighty ſail of ſhips, on board of which were eleven thouſand ſoldiers, and two thouſand, and five hundred ſeamen. In the relation of a different writer (*x*), the total number of the veſſels is one hundred, and forty-ſix, manned with fourteen thouſand ſoldiers, and four thouſand mariners. Of the laſt there appears to have been ſo few that we muſt naturally conclude that the veſſels were either ſmall, or not ſupplied with half the complement of neceſſary hands (*y*).

On

(*u*) Speed.
(*x*) Stowe.
(*y*) Sir William Monſon hath mentioned, in particular, the following veſſels, and officers.

SHIPS.

On the eighteenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-nine, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth, and, in few days afterwards, arrived at the Groyne. Here, ſome of the troops immediately diſembarked, and attacking a party of the enemy, obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs. On this occaſion, the military operations were thus conducted:

Twelve hundred men landed from the pinnaces, and long-boats, and, marching towards the town, aſſailed it by a general diſcharge of the artillery. On the other ſide of the water, a body of five hundred ſoldiers, diſembarked, and ſcaled the ramparts, whilſt three hundred of the troops formed an attack, in a different quarter. All the forces charging together, the victory was gained with eaſe, and the affrighted citizens fled, through ſubterraneous paſſages, undiſcovered by the enemy, into the upper town. The governor, Don Juan de Luna, and many officers of diſtinction were taken priſoners. The Engliſh, proceeding to thoſe wild exceſſes of barbarity which, in that age, was one of the diſgraceful conſequences of ſucceſs, ſlew five hundred of the inhabitants, after the place had been reduced, and the plunder ſurrendered quietly to the conquerors. What the arms of the

Ships.	Command. by Sea.	Comm. by Land.
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris.
Dreadnought	Capt. Tho. Fenner	Sir Edward Norris.
Aid	Wm. Fenner	Sir Henry Norris.
Nonpareil	—— Sackville	Sir Roger Williams.
Foreſight	Wm. Winter	Capt. Williams, (or Wilſon,) ſerjeant major.
Swiftſure	—— Goring.	

Spaniards were unable to effect, their wines accompliſhed; and multitudes of the Engliſh ſoldiers drank ſo freely of the liquors which they diſcovered in the cellars, that they periſhed through the violence of intoxication.

In the mean time, the Spaniards ſet fire to a large veſſel which lay at anchor in the harbour, and which continued burning, during the ſpace of two days. On board, were ſeveral great pieces of artillery, thirty-four of which burſt, amidſt the conflagration. The Engliſh next beſieged the upper town, which was extremely difficult of acceſs, and ſprang two mines that made conſiderable breaches in the walls. They, now, began a cloſe attack, and were on the point of ſucceeding in their operations, when, unfortunately, a tower fell, and cruſhed ſeveral of their aſſociates. Diſmayed by this unexpected accident, the ſurvivors retreated with precipitation, and, having only three pieces of ordnance for their defence, were ſeverely wounded, on their march through a narrow paſſage, by the continual diſcharges from the ſmall arms of the enemy.

During the ſiege of the upper town, the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the cloiſter, on the ſouth ſide, whilſt colonel Huntley, and captain Sampſon, with a ſtrong detachment of the troops, ravaged the adjacent country, and returned with droves of cattle, and flocks of ſheep.

On the day following the aſſault, the general, Sir John Norris, was informed by a Spaniard, who had been taken priſoner, that the Conde de Andrada, at the head of eight thouſand troops, was aſſembled at Puento de Burgos, intended to advance to the relief of the Groyne, and would be ſhortly ſupported by a ſtill greater number

ber of forces, under the command of the Conde de Altomira. Accordingly, on the ſixth of May, Norris marched, with nine regiments, in order to intercept the enemy, and left the remaining five to attend on Sir Francis Drake, and guard the artillery, and the cloiſter. The Engliſh troops proceeded in three diſtinct bodies, and ſoon approached the Spaniards. After a furious conteſt, during which Sir Edward Norris, colonel Sidney, and the captains Middleton, Wingfield, Hinder, Fulford, and Barton, behaved with ſingular intrepidity, the enemy were totally defeated, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that three thouſand officers, and ſoldiers, were cut off in the purſuit. The Engliſh took the chief ſtandard, and (what ſullied the luſtre of their victory,) ſlew two hundred of the Spaniards, near the cloiſters, in cold blood, excluſive of thoſe who had been maſſacred on the roads, and in the vineyards. Of their own men, but one was killed, and few were wounded.

Having plundered, and reduced to aſhes the adjacent villages, together with the camp, in which they ſeized large quantities of ammunition, plate, and apparel, the Engliſh, on the eighth of May, ſet fire to the lower town, and cloiſter. This was the laſt hoſtility: they, now, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to their ſhips.

From the Groyne, the fleet ſailed towards the coaſt of Portugal, and, on the paſſage, were joined by the earl of Eſſex, a young hero of promiſing expectations, who, glowing with military ardour had ſtolen ſecretly, and without the knowledge of the queen, from England. With him, were veſſels, equipped at his own expence, and commanded by his brother, Walter Devereux, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir

Edward Wingfield. Theſe had cruized near the ſouth cape, and taken ſome ſhips freighted with corn, which they brought into the fleet.

On the ſixteenth the Engliſh arrived at Penicha, a ſmall town of Portugal, where Sir John Norris, and the troops, immediately diſembarked, and unreſiſted, obliged the caſtle to ſubmit to Don Antonio. They, next, marched towards Liſbon, and, on the road, took the town, and citadel of Torre Vedra. From thence, they continued their progreſs, but were frequently interrupted by ſtrong parties of the Spaniards, whom they engaged and conquered. Approaching Liſbon, on the twenty-fifth, they attacked, and without loſs, reduced the ſuburbs of Saint Catherine. The people in this city appeared in general, averſe from declaring for Antonio; the ſuccours which that prince had been promiſed by the Emperor of Morocco were not arrived; the troops were infected with diſeaſes; the artillery was inſufficient for a vigorous attack, and the ammunition was expended. Under theſe alarming circumſtances, the council of war reſolved that the whole armament ſhould retire. Accordingly, after a ſtay of two nights, at Liſbon, (during which time, the garriſon, although reinforced by a body of troops, more numerous than their opponents, avoided an engagement,) the Engliſh retreated to Caſcais, a ſmall town, at the mouth of the river Tagus. By the plunder of the ſuburbs alone, they could have acquired a richer booty than any of their armies had ever taken; ſince, excluſive of the wealth which might have been diſcovered in private dwellings, the ſtore-houſes, near the water, were filled with valuable merchandize: but Antonio (who, it muſt be obſerved, was preſent, during every enterprize,) inſiſted that mercy, and indulgence, might be ſhewn to a people whom he

ſtiled

ſtiled his ſubjects, and thus, the adventurers who ſupported his cauſe, were deprived of the moſt ſolid advantages which could have reſulted from their Succeſs.

The fleet which had intercepted, and taken ſeveral Spaniſh veſſels, and, in particular, fifteen which were bound to Liſbon, with forces, and proviſions, had already arrived at Caſcais, and reduced the place. The admiral (having blown up a port of the caſtle, and ſeized ſixty ſail of ſhips, belonging to the Hanſe Towns, which, contrary to the prohibition of Elizabeth, were juſt arrived with corn, and naval ſtores, for the ſervice of an armada which Philip was preparing againſt the Engliſh,) received the troops on board, and ſailed homewards. The ſhips were ſcarcely under way, when twenty Spaniſh gallies rowed toward them, and began a furious attack, but were ſo powerfully reſiſted, that, after a ſhort, and unequal conteſt, they haſtily retreated.

Returning, the Engliſh reduced to aſhes the town of Vigo, in Galicia, on the banks of a bay of the ſame name, and pillaged the adjacent country. They next arrived at Plymouth, in the beginning of July with an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which had been taken from the enemy, and a large booty, of which a part was divided amongſt the ſeamen.

The queen intended to have releaſed the ſixty veſſels in the ſervice of the Hanſe Towns, and only to have confiſcated their cargoes, but her reſentment was increaſed by advices that an aſſembly was convened at Lubec, for the purpoſe of deviſing meaſures to annoy the Engliſh; and ſhe immediately directed that all the ſhips ſhould be detained, excepting two, which were permitted to return home, and inform the Hanſe Towns of the misfortunes to which they had reduced themſelves,

ſelves, by their interpoſition in favour of the Spaniards (z).

As the following reflections of a contemporary hiſtorian (*a*) will elucidate the foregoing relation of the enterprize, it may be proper to preſent them to the reader.

"The laſt overthrow, given in the year, one "thouſand, five hundred and eighty eight, to the "Invincible fleet, (as they termed themſelves) did "ſo encourage every man to war, that happy was he "who could put himſelf in action againſt the Spani-"ards, as it appeared by the volunteers, that went on "this voyage. Conſidering the great loſs which the "king of Spain had received, in the preceding year, "whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was "provided for at home, the queen became willing to "countenance this action, although ſhe undertook it "not wholly of herſelf, to which is to be imputed the "overthrow of it.

"For whoſoever he be of a ſubject, that thinks to "undertake ſo great an enterprize, without a prince's "purſe, ſhall be deceived; and therefore theſe two ge-"nerals, in my opinion, never over-ſhot themſelves "more, than in undertaking ſo great a charge, with ſo "little means, which is the only cauſe to which is to "be imputed the ill ſucceſs of it; for, where victuals, "and arms are wanting, what hope, is there of pre-"vailing?

"The

(z) The particulars relating to the expedition to Portugal are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 601, 606.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 174.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 561, 562—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p 264, 267.—Birch's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 58.—MS. in Bibl. Cott.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part II. p. 134.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1914.—Appendix to Harris's Col.—Columna Roſtrata.

(*a*) Sir William Monſon.

" The project of this voyage was to reſtore a diſ-
" treſſed king to his dominions, which (as he pre-
" tended,) were uſurped; and although the means for
" the ſetting forth of this voyage were not ſo great as
" was expedient; yet, in the opinion of all men, if
" they had directed their courſe, whither they in-
" tended it, without landing at the Groyne, they had
" performed the ſervice for which they went, reſtored
" Don Antonio to the crown, diſſevered Portugal from
" Spain, and united it in league with England, which
" would have anſwered the preſent charge, and have
" ſettled a continual trade for us to the Weſt Indies,
" and the reſt of the Portugal dominions; for ſo we
" might have conditioned.

" But, as I have ſaid, the landing at the Groyne was
" a lingering of the other deſign; a conſumption of
" victuals; a weakening of the armies by the immo-
" derate drinking of the ſoldiers, which brought a la-
" mentable ſickneſs amongſt them; a warning to
" the Spaniards to ſtrengthen Portugal, and, what was
" more than all this, a diſcouragement to proceed far-
" ther, being repulſed in the firſt attempt.

" Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, at the Groyne,
" they departed from thence towards Portugal, and
" arrived at Penicha, a maritime town, twelve leagues
" from Liſbon, where, with ſmall reſiſtance, they
" took the caſtle, after the captain underſtood Don
" Antonio to be in the army.

" From thence, general Norris marched with his
" land forces to Liſbon, and Sir Francis Drake, with
" his fleet, ſailed to Caſcais, promiſing from thence to
" paſs with his ſhips up the river to Liſbon, to meet
" with Sir John Norris, which he did not, and there-
" fore he was much blamed by the common conſent of
" all men, who imputed the overthrow of the action
" to him.

" I will

"I will not excuſe Sir Francis Drake, in his pro-
"miſe made to Sir John Norris, although I would ut-
"terly have accuſed him of want of diſcretion, if
"he had put the fleet to ſo great an adventure, to ſo
"little purpoſe; for his being in the harbour of Liſ-
"bon, was nothing to the reduction of the caſtle,
"which was two miles from thence; and had the caſ-
"tle been taken, the town would have ſubmitted, of
"courſe.

"And, moreover, the ſhips could not furniſh the
"army, with more men, or victuals than they had;
"wherefore I underſtand not wherein his going up was
"neceſſary; and yet the fleet was to endure many ha-
"zards to this little purpoſe.

"For, betwixt Caſcais, and Liſbon, there are three
"caſtles, Saint Julian, Saint Francis, and Bellem.
"The firſt of the three, I hold one of the moſt im-
"pregnable forts, to ſeaward, in Europe, and, by this,
"the fleet was to paſs, within caliver-ſhot; yet I
"confeſs the greateſt danger was not the paſſing it;
"for with a reaſonable gale of wind, any fort is to
"be paſſed, with ſmall hazard.

"But at this time, there was a general want of
"victuals, and, being entered the harbour, their com-
"ing out again was uncertain, the place being ſubject
"to contrary winds, in which ſpace of time, the
"better part of the victuals would have been con-
"ſumed, and they would have remained there in ſo
"deſperate a ſtate, that they would have been forced
"to have fired one half of the fleet for the bringing
"home of the reſt; for, being as they were, after
"the army was embarked for England, numbers died
"famine homeward, and more would have done ſo,
"if the wind had taken them ſhort, or, if, by the
"deaths of others, they had not been relieved.

"And,

"And, excluſive of all theſe caſualties, and dan-
"gers, the Adalantado was then in Liſbon, with the
"gallies of Spain, and how eaſily he might have an-
"noyed our fleet, by towing fire-ſhips amongſt us,
"we may ſuppoſe, by the hurt which we did the
"Spaniards, on the preceding year, in Calais road,
"and greater we had done, if we had had the help
"of gallies.

"It is a wonder to obſerve every man's opinion of
"this voyage, as well thoſe that were actors in it,
"as others that ſtayed at home; ſome imputing the
"overthrow of it to the landing at the Groyne;
"others to the Portugueſe, failing of their help, and
"aſſiſtance, as was promiſed by Don Antonio; and
"ſome to Sir Francis Drake, who did not come up the
"river with his fleet.

"Although any of theſe three might ſeem probable
"reaſons to many men, that ſhall but hear them, and
"the landing at the Groyne, the chiefeſt of the three
"alleged; yet, weighing truly the defect, and where
"it was, it will appear, that the action was overthrown
"before their departure from home, they being too
"weakly provided with things needful for ſo great an
"expedition.

"For when this voyage was firſt in debate, the
"number of ſhips was not concluded on, according to
"the proportion of men, wherefore they were forced
"to detain divers Eaſterlings, which they met with in
"our channel, and compelled them to ſerve in this
"action, for the tranſportation of our ſoldiers; and
"although theſe ſhips were an eaſe to our men, which
"would otherwiſe have been much peſtered for want
"of room, yet their victuals were nothing augment-
"ed; but they were put on board the ſhips, like ba-
"niſhed men, to ſeek their fortunes, at ſea; for, by

"con-

" confeſſion, divers of the ſhips had not four days
" victuals, when they departed from Plymouth.

" Another impediment to this voyage was the want
" of field-pieces; and hence enſued the loſs of Lif-
" bon; for, as the ſtrength conſiſted in the caſtle, and
" we had only an army to countenance us, but no
" means for battery, we were the loſs of the victory
" ourſelves; and it was apparent, by the intelligence
" which we received, that if we had preſented them
" with battery, they were reſolved to parly, and ſo,
" by conſequence, to yield; and this was the main
" reaſon for the excuſe made by the Portugueſe for not
" joining with us.

" There is one reaſon to be alleged on the behalf
" of the Portugueſe, and their love, and favour to our
" proceedings; for although they ſhewed not them-
" ſelves forward, upon the occaſion aforeſaid, in aid-
" ing us, yet they oppoſed not themſelves as ene-
" mies againſt us; for, if they had purſued us, in our
" retreat from Liſbon, to Caſcais, our men being weak,
" ſickly, without powder, and ſhot, and other arms,
" they had put us to a greater loſs, and diſgrace
" than we ſuſtained: And if ever England ſhould have
" occaſion to ſet up a competitor in Portugal, our car-
" riage, and good treatment of the people of that
" country muſt ſecure to us a great influence amongſt
" them; For the general moſt adviſedly forbad the
" rifling of their houſes, in the country, and ſub-
" urbs of Liſbon, which they poſſeſſed, and command-
" ed royal payment for every thing which they took,
" without compulſion, or rigorous uſage. This hath
" made thoſe, who ſtood but indifferently affected
" before, now ready, upon the like occaſion, to aſ-
" ſiſt us.

Towards

Towards the close of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, a report was circulated, throughout Europe, that the king of Spain had issued orders for the equipment of a fleet still more powerful, and numerous than the Invincible Armada, and that its operation were to be directed against the English. Elizabeth, conscious that she had no security but in immediate preparations for defence, drew together twenty-six of the chief vessels in her navy, and dividing them into two squadrons appointed one to cruize in the British channel, and the other to act, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins, against the Spaniards, in America. Exclusive of the royal ships, twenty were fitted out at the joint expence of these gallant officers, and some opulent adventurers in the enterprize (*b*).

These armaments, although speedily equipped, had not sailed in the month of July, when Diego Brochen, the commander in chief of four Spanish gallies, landed, without interruption, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, and reduced to ashes House-Hole, Newlin, Penzance, and a neighbouring church, but did not either kill, or force

(*b*) Sir William Monson makes mention of the following vessels, and their officers.

Ships.	Command. by Sea.	Comm. by Land.
The Defiance	Sir Francis Drake	Sir Thomas Baskerville.
Garland	Sir John Hawkins.	
Hope	Captain Gilbert Yorke.	
Bonaventure	Captain Throughton.	
Foresight	Captain Winter.	
Adventure	Captain Thomas Drake.	

From the author of Drake Revived, we may add that Sir Nicholas Clifford was lieutenant-general, and that eight captains were appointed for the land-service, exclusive of Arnold Baskerville, serjeant major, and Nicholas Baskerville.

force on board their veſſels, any of the inhabitants.

The deſtination of the fleet, and land forces, under Drake, Hawkins, and Baſkerville, was for Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco, in the iſle of Boriquena, at which place, a large treaſure had been depoſited for the uſe of the king of Spain. Informed of this event, Elizabeth prudently countermanded the firſt order, that the ſhips ſhould ſail to Nombre de Dios, from whence the troops were to have marched to Panama, for the purpoſe of intercepting the expreſſes from Peru.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Engliſh ſet ſail from Plymouth, but did not loſe ſight of land, until the thirty-firſt. Their next port was the Grand Canary, where they arrived on the twenty-ſeventh of September. Contrary to the advice of Hawkins, it was propoſed by Drake, and Baſkerville, to attack the iſland, and chiefly with a view of obtaining freſh proviſions, the great ſcarcity of which had occaſioned a violent diſcontent amongſt the ſeamen. After a long, and ineffectual attempt, they judged it prudent to deſiſt from an engagement, during which the Spaniards preſerved a manifeſt, and unexpected ſuperiority. They, now, proceeded towards the iſland of Dominica, and having reached it, on the twenty-ninth of October, commenced a traffic, with the natives, for tobacco. to their imprudence in remaining too long at this place, engaged in conſtructing pinnaces, may be attributed their ſubſequent diſappointments, and the timely knowledge which the Spaniards had gained of their intentions.

A ſmall ſquadron of obſervation, in the ſervice of the enemy, had been diſpatched from Puerto Ricco, and was ſo fortunate as to intercept an Engliſh pinnace, which had ſtrayed to a conſiderable diſtance from the fleet.

fleet. The crew, who were put to the torture, made a full confeſſion of the deſigns of Drake, and his aſſociates; and the Spaniards haſtened inſtantly to inform their fellow-ſubjects of the approaching danger. The gold, ſilver, and other valuable treaſures, at Puerto Ricco, were concealed, by the inhabitants, in ſubterraneous places; light frigates were ſent to alarm all the dependant iſlands, and the adjoining coaſts; whilſt every warlike preparation was made for the moſt vigorous, and effectual defence.

On the twelfth of November, the Engliſh fleet came to an anchor, within cannon-ſhot of the forts erected at Puerto Ricco, and were immediately aſſailed by a furious diſcharge from the artillery of the Spaniars. At the beginning of the attack, Sir Nicholas Clifford, and captain Brute Brown, received, each, a mortal wound, in conſequence of which, they expired on the day following. Their deaths were ſucceeded by that of Sir John Hawkins, leſs a martyr to a fit of ſickneſs under which he had languiſhed, for ſome time, than to the agonies of grief.

At the mouth of the haven, was ſunk a large veſſel, for the purpoſe of preventing the entrance of the Engliſh; and, on each ſide, long maſts were placed, as obſtructions, and extended to the forts. Five Spaniſh ſhips, ballaſted with ſand, and mounting two tiers of cannon, were drawn up in line of battle. Not intimidated by the appearance of thoſe armed multitudes which were on board, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, attended by the troops, in twenty-five boats, and pinnaces, entered the road, beyond the caſtles (*c*), where, expoſed to an inceſſant cannonading, together with a diſcharge of ſmall arms, during the whole action, from the enemy, he ſet fire to the five veſſels, four of

(*c*) November 13th.

of which were of the burthen of two hundred tons, and the other (the rear-admiral,) of twice the ſize. On board of each were twenty braſs guns, and a hundred barrels of powder. The freight, conſiſting, chiefly, of ſilk, oil, and wine, had been previouſly ſecured, with the treaſure, brought from Vigonia, and valued (according to the report of a priſoner,) at three millions of ducats, or thirty-five tons of ſilver. On the ſide of the Spaniards, the loſs was very great; and, amongſt theſe, numbers were either burned, or drowned. Although the action had proved leſs fatal to the Engliſh, yet their forces were conſiderably diminiſhed; and the commanders, ſenſible that no material advantage could be gained, judged it prudent to depart.

Reimbarking, they ſailed over to Terra Firma, and, arriving on the firſt of December, at La Hacha, reduced the place to aſhes, notwithſtanding that the inhabitants were prepared to ranſom it with thirty thouſand ducats. The Engliſh next ſet fire to La Rancheria, after having taken priſoners ſeveral negroes, and other natives. Poſſeſſed of ſome large pearls, and many valuable articles, the plunder of the place, they ſailed, with their prize, a Spaniſh brigantine, to the ſmall villages in the neighbourhood, and burned them to the ground. They, now, proceeded to Nombre de Dios (*d*), of which they ſoon became the maſters, and totally deſtroyed it, with every veſſel in the harbour. They were not ſo fortunate as to diſcover any money, within the town; but at the watch-tower, on the ſummit of an adjoining hill, they ſeized twenty ſows (*e*) of ſilver, two bars of gold, ſeveral pearls, coins, and various articles of merchandize.

From

(*d*) December 19th.
(*e*) Each amounting to about one hundred weight.

From Nombre de Dios, Sir Thomas Baſkerville marched, at the head of ſeven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama. As they approached nearer to the place, they obſerved that all the paſſes had been fortified; a circumſtance which induced them to ſuſpect that the Spaniards were prepared for an attack. Of this, they were ſoon convinced, by a furious, and well-directed diſcharge of ſmall arms, from ſome troops in the adjoining wood. They, now, found that every defile was encompaſſed by the Spaniards; at each turning a fortreſs appeared in view, from whence the ſoldiers ruſhed forth in multitudes, and harraſſed their invaders by continual ſkirmiſhes. Obſtacles ſo inſurmountable obliged the Engliſh to return, and on the ſecond of January, they, with difficulty, rejoined the fleet.

Theſe diſappointments proved fatally afflicting to Sir Francis Drake, who, accuſtomed to victory, was unable to ſupport the loſs of it; and, yielding to the dejection of his mind, contracted a nervous fever, which deprived him of life, at the age of fifty-one, and on the twenty eighth of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Such was the end of this illuſtrious hero, whoſe memory (to borrow the expreſſion of a naval hiſtorian *(f)*,) will ſurvive as long as the duration of that world which he firſt ſurrounded (*g*).

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 563.

(*g*) The particulars relating to this laſt expedition are taken from the hiſtory of a voyage into the Weſt-Indies, made by Sir Francis Drake, &c. &c. London, 1652. Quarto.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 583.—Camden's Annals, p. 700.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 309.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 562, 563.—Engliſh Hero, p. 206.—Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſtoria, Lib. 8. p. 208.——Purchas, V. 4. p. 582.—Sir William Monſon's Tracts.—Drake Revived.

The characters of individuals are, with few exceptions, the moſt accurately traced in the writings of diſcerning, and unprejudiced contemporaries. To theſe, therefore, we ſhall apply; and, next, preſent the reader with obſervations of a later date.

The following is a parallel between Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins. The author of it (*h*) had the honour of ſerving under both commanders.

"They were alike given to travelling, in their "youth, and in their more mature years. They both "attempted many honourable voyages; as, that of Sir "John Hawkins, to Guinea, to the iſles of America, "and to Saint Juan de Ullua: So likewiſe, Sir Francis "Drake, after many diſcoveries in the Weſt-Indies, "and other parts, was the firſt Engliſhman that ever "compaſſed the globe, in which, as well as in his "great knowledge in ſea-affairs, he far exceeded "not only Sir John Hawkins, but all others. In their "natures, and diſpoſitions, they differed as much, as "in their management in war. Sir Francis was of a "lively ſpirit; reſolute, quick, and ſufficiently vali-"ant; Sir John was ſlow, jealous, and difficult to be "brought to a reſolution. In council, Sir John Haw-"kins did often differ from the judgment of others, "making a ſhew, in difficult caſes, of knowing more "than he would declare. Sir Francis was a willing "hearer of the opinion of every man, but, com-"monly, a follower of his own. He never attempted "any action, wherein he was an abſolute command-"er, but he performed it with great reputation, and "could go through the weightieſt concerns, with won-"derful eaſe. On the contrary, Sir John Hawkins "was

(*h*) See the letter ſigned R. M. in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 582.

"was an undertaker of great things; but, for the "moſt part, without fortune, or ſucceſs. Sir John "Hawkins naturally hated land ſoldiers, and, al- "though he was very popular, affected to keep com- "pany with common people, rather than his equals. "Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land-ſol- "diers, always encouraged, and preferred merit, where- "ſoever he found it, and was affable, and of eaſy ac- "ceſs. They had both many virtues, and agreed in "ſome; as in patience in enduring labours, and "hardſhips; obſervation, and remembrance of "things paſt; and great diſcretion in ſudden dan- "gers. In other virtues, they differed: Sir John "Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful "to his word; Sir Francis Drake hard to be recon- "ciled, but conſtant in friendſhip; and withal, at the "ſame time, ſevere, and courteous; magnanimous "and liberal. They were both ambitious to a "fault; but one more than the other; for, Sir Fran- "cis had an inſatiable thirſt after honour, beyond all "reaſon. He was full of promiſes, and more temper- "ate in adverſity, than in proſperity (*i*). He had "likewiſe ſome other imperfections; as quickneſs to "anger; bitterneſs in diſgracing; and was too much "pleaſed with ſordid flattery. Sir John Hawkins had "malice, with diſſimulation; rudeneſs in behaviour; "and was covetous in the laſt degree. They were "both alike happy in being great commanders, but "not equally ſucceſsful. They both grew famous by "the ſame means, that is, by their own virtues, cou- "rage, and the fortune of the ſea. There was no "compariſon, however, between their merits, taken in "general, for, therein Sir Francis far exceeded."

(*i*) The deſpondency which preceded his death but ill agrees with this aſſertion.

The ſucceeding character of our illuſtrious adventurer was drawn by a diſtinguiſhed writer (*k*), whoſe applauſe appears of ſome weight, as being mixed with cenſure.

"I have laboured, in all my relation, to walk uprightly, and with integrity, neither ſwaying to the one hand, nor bending to the other; I have endeavoured to carry my intentions ſo equally, as not to deſerve blame for too much commending, nor reproof, for detracting more than truth leads me; and as I have begun ſo indifferently, ſo will I continue as ſincely, and ſay ſomething of this noble gentleman, Sir Francis Drake."

"There is no man ſo perfect, but is fit to be amended; nor none ſo evil, but he has ſomething in him to be praiſed. Comparing the imperfections of Sir Francis Drake, with his perfections, the world, and not I, ſhall truly judge of his merits."

"His detractors lay to his charge the baſeneſs of his birth, and education; his oſtentation, and vainglorious boaſting; his high, haughty, and inſolent carriage; and they except againſt his ſufficiency for a general, although they allow him to be an able captain."

"His friends, and favourers anſwer, in his behalf, that the meanneſs of his birth was an argument of his worth; for, what he attained to, was by no other means than his merit. They ſay, that every man is ſon to his works; and what one hath by his anceſtors can ſcarcely be called his own; that virtue is the cauſe of preferment, and honour but the effect; that a man is more to be eſteemed for being virtuous, than being called worſhipful; the one is a title of honour, the other of deſert."

"Marius,

(*k*) Sir William Monſon.

"Marius, being upbraided by Sylla, in the like manner, for the baſeneſs of his birth, and the haughtineſs of his carriage, anſwered; that he was not of ſo great a family as Sylla, yet Sylla could not deny but that he was the better man; for, in Sylla's houſe were painted the acts of his fore-fathers; but in his, were hung up the banners, that he himſelf had won from his enemy."

"In vindication of the pride of Sir Francis Drake, they ſay that it was not inherent to him alone, but to moſt men of his profeſſion, and rank. It is true, that he would ſpeak much, and arrogantly, but eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him thoſe helps of nature. Indeed, he had four properties to further his gift of ſpeaking; his boldneſs of ſpeech, his underſtanding in what he ſpoke, his inclination to ſpeak, and his uſe in ſpeaking; and although vain-glory is a vice not to be excuſed, yet he obtained that fame, by his actions; that facility, in ſpeaking; and that wiſdom, by his experience, that I can ſay no more, but that we are all the children of Adam."

"His friends go farther, and obſerve that his haughty, and high carriage is ſomewhat excuſable, when it appears not but in his command; for a general ought to be ſtern towards his ſoldiers; courageous, in his perſon, valiant in fight, generous in giving, patient in ſuffering, and merciful in pardoning: and, if Sir Francis Drake was to be praiſed for moſt of theſe virtues, let him not be blamed, or condemned for one only vice. Many times, where a man ſeeks obedience, it is imputed to his pride, and high carriage; but if hatred grew upon envy, (as it is likely,) it appeared greater than if it had been grounded upon injury."

"The exceptions againſt him, by thoſe, that "condemned him as an ill general, are, his neglect of "furniſhing his fleet to the Indies, in the year, one "thouſand, five hundred, and eighty five; his not "keeping Santo Domingo, and Carthagena, when he "was poſſeſſed of them, in that voyage; his weak pre-"paration for ſuch an expedition as that to Portugal; "his promiſe to go up to Liſbon, that voyage, and his "non-performance; and the ſeizure of the pinnace, "in his way to the Indies, which diſcovered his di-"rections in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, "and ninety-five. Without entering into theſe par-"ticulars, here, I ſhall ſpeak of him, as a private cap-"tain, and eſpecially, of his renowned voyage about "the world, being the firſt attempt of that nature, "that ever was performed by any nation, except the "Spaniards themſelves, (and they only with Magel-"lan, and his company.) It was the more honour to "him, in that the ſtreight of Magellan was counted "ſo terrible in thoſe days, that the very thoughts of "attempting it was dreadful; ſecondly, in that it had "been but once paſſed, and but by one ſhip that ever "returned into Europe; and that above ſixty-nine "years previous to his enterprize. His praiſe was that "he could carry a voluntary action ſo diſcreetly, ſo "patiently, and ſo reſolutely, in ſo tedious, and un-"known a navigation, the condition of ſeamen being "apt to repine and murmur. But, laſtly, and princi-"pally, that after ſo many miſeries, and extremities "which he endured, and almoſt two years ſpent in "unpracticed ſeas, when reaſon would have warned "him to ſeek home, for his reſt, he left his known "courſe, and ventured upon an unknown ſea, in for-"ty-eight degrees; which ſea, or paſſage, we know "had been often attempted, but never diſcovered."

"This

"This enterprize alone muſt ſilence all his detrac-
"tors. It ſhewed an extraordinary reſolution; a de-
"ſire to enrich, and benefit his country; and a ſingu-
"lar patience to endure the diſaſters, and miſhaps to
"which he, and his aſſociates were expoſed."

"Yet he muſt not go ſo clear without ſtain, or
"blemiſh. It ſhould be known, that although he de-
"ſerved well in the direction, and carriage of his
"journey, yet the ground of this expedition was un-
"juſt."

"No man had more experience of the inconſtancy
"of fortune than Sir Francis. The nature of fortune
"is to bite, when ſhe flatters, and to ſtrike when ſhe is
"angry."

"What his birth and other deſerts were, needs no
"reiteration. Fortune did much for him; but, at
"his death, ſhe was incenſed againſt him; firſt, in
"that there was a doubt whether it was natural; ſe-
"condly, (and the beſt that his friends can ſay, is
"that it was cauſed by grief,) for failing of his ex-
"pectation in that voyage; thirdly, notwithſtanding
"his meritorious ſervices, his heir was proſecuted,
"and perplexed for debts, and accounts to the
"crown; and laſtly, he died, like Pizarro and Alma-
"gro, without a child to ſucceed him, and perpetuate
"his memory."

Were it poſſible to ſet aſide thoſe wanton exceſſes of barbarity by which the heroes of that age ſo frequently diſgraced their conqueſts, we might aſſent to the opinion of a diſcerning writer (*l*), and allow that the ſole actions of his life which expoſed him to a juſt, and heavy cenſure, was the unrelenting ſeverity with which Sir Francis Drake enforced the execution of an active,

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 565.

active, brave, and ſkilful officer. This unhappy victim (of the name of Doughty, and ſecond in command,) ſtood charged with having endeavoured to excite a mutiny in the fleet, and concerted meaſures for the deſtruction of the admiral. The natural turbulence of his temper appeared to give ſome colour to the accuſation; but, if we can truſt the evidence of hiſtory, his guilt was aſcertained by teſtimonies which could not be diſputed; his private papers, and his own confeſſion (*m*). During his trial, more than forty of the chief perſons on board of the fleet ſat as jurymen, and, by their verdict, declared him to be guilty. Although caſt for death, he received the liberty of chuſing, out of three ſituations, one to which it was neceſſary that he ſhould be reduced; and, if he had felt an inclination to evade the execution of the ſentence, he might have been either ſeparated from his aſſociates, and left at port Saint Julian, or ſent to England, not to ſuffer immediately on his arrival, but to enjoy the benefit of a ſecond trial. His option was inſtant death, and, in conſequence of it, he was directed to prepare for a ſubmiſſion to his fate.

Thus far the conduct of Sir Francis Drake ſeems not deſerving of reproach; but by what arguments ſhall we vindicate the barbarous profligacy of that man, who having made himſelf the active inſtrument to bring the criminal to juſtice for thoſe injuries which he had received from him, could withold a pardon (which as a judge and chief commander, he had the full power of granting,) in the moment after he had partaken with him of that ſacrament which was inſtituted by the ſaviour who directs us to forgive, as we expect

(*m*) Life of Sir Francis Drake, in Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies.—Hacklnyt, V. 3. p. 733.—Winter's Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, p. 752.

expect to be forgiven? Occaſions have ariſen to juſtify an adherence to ſtrict diſcipline, and the ſeverity of the law; yet it is needleſs to obſerve that both ſhould be removed whenſoever the proſecutor, who is inveſted with the power of puniſhing, becomes the partner of the offender in the performance of thoſe ceremonies, one great foundation of which is the hope of mercy, in return for mercy (*n*).

It may be neceſſary to obſerve that the enemies of Sir Francis had inſinuated that Doughty was ſent, on this enterprize, purpoſely that he might be deprived of Life, as a puniſhment for his preſumption in having

(*n*) On the morning which preceded his execution, Doughty received the ſacrament with Drake, and other officers belonging to the fleet. He, next, dined with them, at the ſame table, and, in the midſt of convivial chearfulneſs, after, having drunk to the proſperity, and health of every perſon preſent, roſe, and with equal fortitude, and ſubmiſſion, proceeded to the place of execution, where, at one blow, his head was ſevered from his body. There is ſomething ſhocking in the idea, that almoſt in the very hour of puniſhment, proſecutors, evidences, judges, and the criminal ſhould mix together at a ſocial entertainment. It is at leaſt ſufficient to juſtify the current report that he was cut off by Drake, as being the emulator of his glory. Humanity was not the prevailing characteriſtic of this celebrated adventurer: yet cruelties appear to have been countenanced by the practice of the times; and the advocates of Sir Francis were accuſtomed to extol his lenity, becauſe, during his voyage round the world, he had only put Doughty to death: abandoned a Portugueſe (whom he had taken under his protection, near the coaſt of Africa,) to the vengeance of the Spaniards, at Aguatulco; and left a female negro alone on a deſerted iſland, after ſhe had become pregnant in conſequence of an intercourſe with one of his aſſociates. This unhappy woman had been preſented to him, by a Spaniard, in return for the preſervation of his ſhip.

ing charged the earl of Leiceſter, with the murder of the earl of Eſſex, whoſe death was the effect of poiſon. The abandoned diſpoſition of Leiceſter might have given an air of probability to any ſuggeſtion, in a caſe where he only was concerned (*o*); but it is more than difficult to ſuppoſe that Drake was not too brave, and open in his temper, to aſſume the office of a deſigning ruffian; nor could he, without having been loſt to every ſenſe of gratitude, and honour, ſo far forget his obligations to the earl of Eſſex, the firſt, and moſt liberal of all his patrons, as to become an acceſſary to the deſtruction of Doughty, merely becauſe he had endeavoured to bring to juſtice the murderer of that unfortunate, and injured lord. We ſhall conclude this memoir with ſome miſerably-compoſed, and (let us hope,) ill-grounded ſtanzas relating to this affair. They have already been introduced by a naval writer (*p*), from a book (*q*) which he calls the fulleſt account of the matter that hath fallen within his knowledge; and he adds that it contains much true hiſtory, although, there may be ample reaſons to imagine that it is interſperſed with falſities.

"I doubted

(*o*) The poiſoning of Eſſex was the more generally attributed to Leiceſter, becauſe the latter married Lettice, (the daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, and the widow of the former, ſoon after the deceaſe of her huſband. She was ſuſpected of a criminal familiarity with Leiceſter, during the life-time of her firſt lord. See, "Reporte of the Deathe of "the Earle of Eſſex," in Hearne's Preface to "Camdeni Elizabetha," Sect. 16.—Hemingi Chartular. Eccleſ. Wigorn. —Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies, in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 566.

(*q*) Leiceſter's Ghoſt (a Poem written by father Parſons, chiefly from Leiceſter's Commonwealth.) Quarto. 1641.

" I doubted leſt that Doughty would bewray
" My counſel, and with other party take ;
" Wherefore, the ſooner him to rid away,
" I ſent him forth to ſea, with captain Drake,
" Who knew how t'entertaine him for my ſake.
" Before he went, his lot by me was caſte,
" His death was plotted, and performed in haſte.

" He hoped well ; but I did ſo diſpoſe
" That he at Port Saint Gillian loſt his head ;
" Having no time permitted to diſcloſe
" The inward griefs that in his heart were bred.
" We need not fear the biting of the dead.
" Now let him go, tranſported to the ſeas,
" And tell my ſecrets to th' Antipodes" (*r*).

(*r*) The arms of Sir Francis Drake were, ſable, a feſs wavy, between two pole-ſtars, argent ; and the creſt, a ſhip on a globe, under ruff, the cable of it holden by a hand iſſuing from the clouds. Above was the following motto, AUXILIO DIVINO ; and underneath, SIC PARVIS MAGNA. To the rigging was affixed, by the talons, a Wyverne, gules. This laſt was the paternal coat of Sir Bernard Drake, a brave, and enterprizing ſeaman, whoſe arms Sir Francis had formerly aſſumed, and from whom, he on that account had received a ſevere blow on the face. The queen took up the quarrel, forbad the parties to ſhew any farther reſentment, and gave to Sir Francis Drake thoſe arms which have been already mentioned. By the Wyverne hanging in the ſhrouds, Elizabeth ſeems to have inſinuated her contempt for Sir Bernard.—Prince's worthies of Devonſhire. (To this author the preceding ſtory was communicated by Sir Robert Drake, Baronet, a direct deſcendant from Sir Bernard.)—The glory of generoſity, by John Ferne. London, 1586. Quarto. p. 144, 145.

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir JOHN HAWKINS.

THIS celebrated ſeaman (deſcended from a reputable family, and born at Plymouth, in the county of Devon,) was the ſon of William Hawkins, by Joan, the daughter of William Trelawny, a gentleman poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate in Cornwall. The Parents of our adventurer, pleaſed with his early paſſion for naval knowledge, and the ſtudy of the mathematics, were careful that he ſhould be inſtructed, not only in the theory of theſe ſciences, but of all which could enable him to ſhine, with diſtinguiſhed luſtre, at the future periods of his life. Theſe accompliſhments were ſoon reduced to practice, and previous to his twentieth year, he had ſailed to Spain, to Portugal, and the Canaaries. During that Æra, ſuch enterprizes were deemed extraordinary; and, as few adventurers had undertaken them, the maritime, and commercial abilities of Hawkins ſecured

to

to him a decided ſuperiority over the generality of his contemporaries (*a*).

The particular circumſtances relating to theſe expeditions are not mentioned by hiſtorians; nor is there extant a minute detail of the adventures of William Hawkins, the father, a naval officer of great abilities, and experience, eſteemed by Elizabeth, endeared to his fellow-ſubjects, and (at a period when an eagerneſs to acquire fame by maritime exploits was one of the ruling paſſions of the people,) particularly reſpected, as the firſt Engliſhman who had made a voyage to the Braziles (*b*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-two, the gallant officer who is the ſubject of this memoir, having acquired, during his reſidence at the Canaries, an extenſive knowledge of the ſlave-trade, and being much allured by the proſpect of thoſe pecuniary advantages which reſulted from the ſale of negroes, in the Weſt-Indies, applied, for aſſiſtance in the enterprize, to the chief merchants of the port of London. Amongſt theſe, were Mr. Gunſon, his father in law, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Bromfield, who immediately contributing the neceſſary ſums, directed our adventurer to equip ſuch veſſels as might be proper for the voyage (*c*).

In the Autumn of the ſame year, the preparations were concluded, and Hawkins departed, inſtantly, with three

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.—Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire, p. 389.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.

(*b*) Hackluyt, V. 2 p. 520.

(*c*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1179.

three Ships (*d*), for Teneriff, where he arrived, towards the middle of October, and obtained a freſh ſupply of water, and proviſions. From this iſland, he ſailed to Sierra Leona (*e*), on the coaſt of Guinea, where, remaining during ſome time, he acquired, partly, by force of arms, and, partly, by purchaſe, three hundred ſlaves, and ſuch valuable commodities as were the produce of the country.

From Sierra Leona, he ſteered his courſe towards port Iſabella, in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in the weſt Indies. Here, he diſpoſed advantageouſly of ſeveral of the negroes, and ſome articles of merchandize. His next port was Puerto de Plata, where he traded as at the former place; but with great circumſpection, leſt the Spaniards, who ſecretly meditated the deſtruction of the Engliſh, ſhould riſe, and execute their purpoſes. He, next, ſailed to Monte Chriſti, another harbour on the northern ſide of Hiſpaniola, where he was ſuffered to trade peaceably with the natives, and had the good fortune to ſell the remaining number of his negroes.

Succeſsful, even beyond his ſanguine expectations, he not only laded his own ſhips with Quantities of pearls, hides, ginger, ſugar, and other articles, but diſpatched for Spain two hulks, conſigned to merchants, and richly freighted with the various commodities of the country adjoining to Monte Chriſti. Having thus happily concluded his commercial intercourſe, he,

(*d*) Theſe were the Solomon, (John Hawkins, admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Swallow, (Thomas Hampton, captain,) of the burthen of one hundred tons; and the Jonas, a bark of the burthen of forty tons. The total number of men amounted only to one hundred.

(*e*) Called by the natives, Tagarin.

he, without proceeding farther within the bay, returned by the iſlands of Caycos, and, towards the concluſion of the month of September, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-three, arrived in England *(f)*.

On his ſucceeding expedition, this ſpirited adventurer was furniſhed with two ſhips, and two barks. Theſe were the Jeſus, of Lubec, of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons; the Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Tyger, of the burthen of fifty tons; and the Swallow, of the burthen of thirty tons. With this ſquadron, he departed from Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October (*g*), and, at the diſtance of nearly ten leagues from the harbour, fell in with two ſhips; (on their paſſage to Guinea,) the Minion, belonging to the royal navy, and commanded by David Carlot; and the John Baptiſt, equipped by the port of London. This laſt veſſel ſailed afterwards in company with Hawkins; but the Minion proceeded in ſearch of the Merlin, another ſhip, from which ſhe had ſeparated ſome days before.

On the twenty-firſt a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Jeſus, the Solomon, and the Tyger, received conſiderable damage, and were parted from the John Baptiſt, and the Swallow. Theſe, on the twenty-third, rejoined the fleet, at the of diſtance about ten leagues from Cape Finiſterre.

On the twenty-ſeventh, and whilſt the wind continued unfavourable, the Engliſh entered the port of Ferrol in Galicia, where they remained, during five days. On the twenty-eighth, they were joined by the

(*f*) Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 500.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 535.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, v. 1. p. 141.

(*g*) A. D. 1564.

the Minion, the captain of which related the melancholy cataſtrophe which befel the crew, belonging to the Merlin. This veſſel took fire, and blew up. Soon afterwards, her hulk ſunk to the bottom of the ocean. A ſmall number of the mariners were taken up by the boat which captain Carlot had ſent to their aſſiſtance. Theſe were miſerably ſcorched; the reſt either periſhed amidſt the waves, or were burned to death.

On the thirtieth, the ſhips renewed their courſe; on the fourth of November, they deſcried the iſland of Madeira; and, on the ſixth, arrived at Teneriff. Having remained here, during a fortnight, they ſet ſail, and, on the twenty-fifth reached Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Africa. Waiting only to obtain freſh water, fiſh, and other proviſions, they ſoon proceeded on their voyage, and, after a paſſage of four days, arrived at Cape de Verd, in the latitude of fourteen degrees, and a half, on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month. At this place it was the deſign of Hawkins to ſeize upon ſeveral negroes, by force of arms; but the crew belonging to the Minion, either purpoſely, or through inadvertence, had warned theſe wretched victims to the tyranny of their fellow creatures to ſecure themſelves from the impending danger; and they preſerved their liberty by flying to the receſſes of the woods.

Thus baffled in his views, our adventurer proceeded on his courſe (*h*), and ſoon (*i*) reached the iſland of Alcatrarſa, where the Jeſus and the Solomon caſt anchor, whilſt the two barks ſailed immediately to the iſland of La Formio, at which an armed body of eighty men diſembarked, and purſued a multitude of negroes, who ran with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that the Engliſh, in deſpair gave up the chace, and returned on board.

(*h*) December 7th. (*i*) December 8th.

On the fourteenth, they arrived at the iſland of Sambula, and, remaining there during ſeveral days, were employed either in ſeizing the inhabitants, or plundering, and ſetting fire to the towns. On the twenty-firſt, having ſecured the ſlaves on board, and obtained great quantities of proviſions, they renewed their courſe, and, on the day following, entered the river of Callouſa, at the mouth of which the two ſhips dropped anchor, whilſt the Tyger, and the Swallow, accompanied by the pinnace of the John Baptiſt, and the boat belonging to the Solomon, proceeded up the river, and, ſoon afterwards, returned with two caravals, deeply laden with ſlaves.

On the twenty-ſeventh, having received information from the Portugueſe, that the neighbouring town of Bymba abounded with gold, and was filled with negroes, the Engliſh diſembarked, and, in armed bodies, marched forwards to reduce it. Inſtigated by avarice, they neglected the means of preſervation; and, dividing themſelves into ſmall parties, for the purpoſe of ſecuring a larger portion of the plunder, they became expoſed to a more violent reſiſtance from the negroes, who loſt only ten of their aſſociates, nor retreated into the town until they had wounded twenty-ſeven of the Engliſh, and killed Mr. Field, (the commander of the Solomon,) and ſix of his Companions. This calamity was rendered more afflicting to the ſurvivors, by an event not leſs diſtreſsful: on the day following, four men were devoured, and a fifth was miſerably torn, in ſeveral parts of his body, by the Sharks.

At the concluſion of the month, the Engliſh proceeded on their voyage, and ſoon afterwards, (whilſt the barks, and boats paſſed up the river Caſſeroes,) dropped anchor at Taggarin (*k*). Here, they remained

(*k*) January 1, 1565.

mained until the twenty-eighth of January, when, having procured as many negroes as could be admitted within their veſſels, they ſet ſail for the Weſt Indies. During eighteen days, the fleet was detained by calms, and did not reach the iſland of Dominica, until the eighth of March, at which period the freſh water was expended, and the crews, languiſhing under the want of neceſſaries, deſpaired of preſervation. A barbarous race of cannibals infeſted the adjoining ſhore, and the Engliſh, who were not ignorant that the conſequence of being taken by the ſavages muſt be inſtant death, had no alternative but to periſh through exceſs of thirſt, or run the riſk of falling a dreadful ſacrifice to the ferocious diſpoſition of their fellow-creatures, who would firſt kill, and next devour them. As their ſituation was become intolerable, they, at once, determined to diſembark, and, after having wandered around the country, unnoticed by the cannibals, procured an inconſiderable quantity of rain water, which had deſcended from the ſummits of the hills, and was lodged within the cavities of the vales.

On the tenth, they departed from Dominica, and, in ſix days, arrived at the iſland of Margarita, where a Spaniſh officer ſupplied them with ſheep, and bullocks; a kindneſs which appears to have been diſpleaſing to the governor, who not only forbad the Engliſh to trade with any of the natives, but obliged them to ſend back a pilot whom they had already hired, nor ſuffered them to depart until he had diſpatched a caravel to Saint Domingo, and the neighbouring coaſts, in order that the inhabitants might be prepared for a defence, and, at the ſame time, exclude them from the liberty of commerce.

From Margarita, the Engliſh ſailed towards Santa Fe, ſituated on the continent, and, immediately after their

arrival (*l*), were ſo fortunate as to obtain a large ſupply of freſh water, and various articles of proviſion. On the twenty-eighth they weighed anchor, and paſſed, in the courſe of the ſucceeding day between the continent, and the iſland of Tortugas. Still ſteering within ſight of land, they, on the third of April, reached the town of Burburoata, where Hawkins remained, during fourteen days, preſerving every appearance of peace, and repeatedly ſolliciting for the permiſſion to engage in commerce with the natives. An Order was, at length, iſſued by the governor, to the officers of the cuſtoms, who were to admit the Engliſh to the liberty of trading, on the payment of certain duties, for the benefit of the king of Spain. Theſe were ſo exorbitant as not only to ſtrike at all profit, but to expoſe the Engliſh (if they had imprudently complied,) to ſevere loſſes. Incenſed at theſe proceedings, our adventurer now dropped the language of intreaty, and determined to obtain by violence thoſe advantages of which the governor had endeavoured to deprive him. On the ſixteenth, he diſembarked, at the head of an hundred men in arms, and marching inſtantly to the town, ſo intimidated the Spaniards, by menaces of reſentment, that they promiſed to aſſiſt him in the purchaſe, and diſpoſal of effects, on the payment of an equitable duty.

When this commercial intercourſe was concluded to the mutual advantages of the parties, the Engliſh renewed their courſe (*m*), and, on the ſixth of May, reached the iſland of Curacao, with the natives of which, they maintained a profitable traffic, and, excluſive of a variety of proviſions, received Oxen, Sheep, and lambs, in return for different articles of European

(*l*) January 22, 1565. (*m*) May 4th.

European merchandize. Thoſe laſt were leſs valuable than the hides alone of thoſe animals for which they were exchanged.

On the fifteenth, the fleet departed from Curacao, and, ſailing by the iſland of Aruba, caſt anchor on the ſeventh, near the weſtern promontory of Cabo de Vela. They, next, arrived at La Rancheria, the pearl-fiſhery of the Spaniards, and, on the nineteenth, entered the port of Rio de la Hacha. When Hawkins requeſted that he might be allowed to trade with the inhabitants, the treaſurer of the king of Spain ſent a poſitive refuſal. The appearance of an hundred Engliſhmen in arms, and threatening to attack the town, induced this officer, although reluctantly, to comply with their requeſt. They were permitted to exchange European articles for ſuch commodities as they wanted.

On the thirty firſt of May, they ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, but, driven by the violence of the currents to the Leeward, were ſo unfortunate as to miſs their paſſage, and fall in with the iſland of Jamaica. Miſtaking this for Hiſpaniola, they not only proceeded beyond it, but continued their courſe to a great diſtance from Santa Croce, in Cuba; an event, in conſequence of which they were reduced to great perplexities. On the ſixteenth of June, they touched at the iſle of Pinas, and departing from it, the next day, made Cape Saint Anthony, at the weſtern extremity of the iſle of Cuba. The winds, which blew violently from the ſhore, drove the ſhips into the open ſea, and they ſteered their courſe to the north-weſt, until the twenty-ninth, when they reached the ſoundings of Florida.

On the fifth of July, they approached the iſlands of Tortugas, and, next endeavoured to proceed to the Havannah. Relying too implicitly on the Judgment of a

Frenchman, who aſſerted that he poſſeſſed a perfect knowledge of the ſituation of the neighbouring ſeas, they loſt their paſſage, and were thenceforward unable to make the port at which they wiſhed ſo eagerly to arrive.

The fleet now ſteered along the coaſt of Florida, and, on the twenty-eighth, being furniſhed with proviſions, and all neceſſaries, prepared for a return to England. Arriving near the banks of Newfoundland (*n*), they were ſo fortunate as to procure great Quantities of Cod-fiſh, and ſoon afterwards, with the advantage of a favourable wind, renewed their courſe, and, on the twentieth of September, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-five, arrived (with a valuable lading of jewels, pearls, gold, ſilver, and other articles,) at Padſtow, in the county of Cornwall (*o*), (*p*).

At the commencement of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-ſeven, this celebrated adventurer ſailed to the relief of the French proteſtants, in Rochelle (*q*), and, returning to England, towards the cloſe of the enſuing ſummer, made the neceſſary preparations

(*n*) Auguſt 23d.

(*o*) Stowe's annals, p. 807.—Prince's worthies of Devonſhire, p. 389.—Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 501.—Purchas, v. 4. p. 1179.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, v. 1. p. 142.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 536.

(*p*) We are informed by Prince, who examined the original patent, that Harvey, the clarencieux king at arms, granted to Hawkins, at his return, a new creſt, being a demi-moor, proper, and bound with a cord. It is more than doubtful whether that augmentation can be deemed honourable, which muſt remind us that the perſon who firſt bore it had been concerned in enterprizes which rendered him at war with all the feelings of humanity.

(*q*) Prince's worthies of Devonſhire, p. 389.—Strype's annals, v. 2.

parations for his third voyage to Guinea, and the Weſt-Indies.

On this expedition, captain Hawkins again took the command of the Jeſus, of Lubec, and was accompanied by the Angel, the Swallow, the Minion, the Hampton, the William and John, and the Judith (*r*). On the ſecond of October, the fleet departed from Plymouth, and, during the five ſucceeding days, enjoyed the advantage of mild weather, and favourable breezes, but on the ſixth were ſo expoſed to the violence of a ſtorm, that all the ſhips were ſeparated for ſome time, and the Jeſus became nearly diſabled from proceeding on the voyage. At length, the tempeſt ceaſed, and, on the eleventh, the Engliſh renewed their courſe.

On their arrival at Guinea, they prepared for an attempt to ſeize the negroes, and during ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which numbers of their men were ſlain, overpowered, and ſecured five hundred ſlaves. With theſe miſerable wretches, they departed, on the third of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-eight, for the Spaniſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, where the ſale of them was declared legal, in conſequence of a former treaty which had been entered into by the emperor Charles the fifth and Henry, the eighth, of England, and ſtill continued in full force.

On the twenty-ſeventh of March, the ſhips came within ſight of Dominica. From thence, they proceeded ſucceſſively to Margarita, Carthagena, and Cabode la Vela, where the commercial intercourſe, although acquired with difficulty, was attended with conſiderable

(*r*) The Judith was commanded by Sir Francis Drake.—See p. 83. of this volume.

ſiderable ſucceſs. At Rio de la Hacha, our adventurer, and his aſſociates were leſs fortunate, nor could they by repeated intreaties, prevail upon the Spaniards to ſuffer them to trade. Determined to accompliſh their deſigns, they now commenced hoſtilities, and marching towards the town, reduced it, after a ſhort engagement, during which, only two of their men were ſlain. Thus driven to the neceſſity of complying, the vanquiſhed engaged in traffic with their conquerors, but ſtipulated that their bargains ſhould be private, and made only in the night-time.

On the ſixteenth of September, the ſhips which had been ſhattered by the tempeſts, near the coaſt of Florida, caſt anchor in the harbour of Saint Juan de Ulloa, at the extremity of the bay of Mexico. The inhabitants, concluding that they were arrived from Spain, repaired immediately on board, and were much terrified on the diſcovery of their miſtake. When they obſerved the courteous behaviour of Hawkins, and his officers, their fears ſubſided, and they ſeemed diſpoſed to place a confidence in the profeſſions of the former, who declared that his ſole views in entering the port were to refit his fleet, and obtain a freſh ſupply of water, and proviſions. The only act of violence which he committed was againſt the perſons of two Spaniards of diſtinguiſhed rank, who were detained as hoſtages, until the return of meſſengers diſpatched to Mexico, with an account of his demands. He could, unreſiſted, have attacked, and, taken twelve merchant ſhips, the cargoes of which were valued at two hundred thouſand pounds, but fearful that ſuch a conduct might expoſe him to the reſentment of the queen, he prudently declined it.

On the day following, the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight; a circumſtance particularly diſtreſſing to our adven-

adventurer, who was checked in the reſolution of oppoſing their paſſage into the harbour only by the conſciouſneſs that Elizabeth could never be induced to pardon ſo violent an hoſtility committed againſt a power with whom her ſubjects were not at war (*s*). On the other hand, he was no leſs ſenſible that if the Spaniards were ſuffered to moor their veſſels, and diſembark, they would repay his lenity by ſome immediate injury. After a ſhort deliberation, he reſolved to admit the fleet, on the condition that the recently appointed vice-roy of Mexico, who was on board, ſhould direct the inhabitants to ſupply the Engliſh with proviſions, at reaſonable prices, and alſo to ſurrender to them the iſland, together with eleven pieces of braſs cannon, for ther defence, until the time of their departure. Theſe things were, at firſt, diſdainfully rejected, yet, at a ſubſequent conference with Hawkins, the vice-roy not only ſignified his aſſent, but gave ten hoſtages for the performance of the promiſe.

The follow is (with few variations,) the copy of an account which was written by the celebrated adventurer who is the ſubject of this memoir, and may claim the notice of the reader as a lively picture of the perfidy of the Spaniards, and the diſtreſſes of the Engliſh (*t*).

"Thus, at the cloſe of three days, the treaty was "concluded, and the Spaniſh ſhips entered the port, "whilſt

(*s*) Such was the natural ſituation of the haven, that Hawkins could, with eaſe, have prevented the Spaniards from entering within it. In their attempt to overcome the oppoſition, they muſt inevitably have ſuffered ſhipwreck, on the coaſt; and this calamity would, in all probability, have been attended with the loſs of the treaſure, which amounted nearly to two millions ſterling.

(*t*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 522, 523.

" whilſt the two fleets ſaluted. We then laboured to " place the Engliſh, and the inhabitants of Saint Juan, " ſeparately, the captains, and ſeamen of each party, " promiſing to aſſiſt by friendly offices. Our profeſſions " were as ſincere, as theirs were treacherous; for, they " had procured, from the continent, a reinforcement " of a thouſand men, and had reſolved, at noon of the " enſuing twenty-third of September, to attack us, on " every ſide."

" At day-break, when the time fixed for the exe- " cution of their villainy was near at hand, we began " to diſcover ſome ſigns of it; ſuch as the ſhifting of " arms from one veſſel to another; the planting, and " levelling of their cannon from their ſhips towards " the iſland, where our men had the guard; com- " panies of ſoldiers moving to, and fro, more than " their common occupations could require, and many " other circumſtances which gave riſe to violent ſuſ- " picions. We therefore ſent to the vice-roy (who " had ſigned the agreement,) to inquire what could be " the meaning of theſe proceedings. He immediately " gave ſtrict orders that every cauſe of diſtruſt ſhould " be removed, and aſſured us that he, ' on the faith of " a vice-roy,' would be our defence againſt all trea- " chery. As this anſwer was far from proving ſatis- " factory, and reaſons exiſted for ſuppoſing that num- " bers of men were concealed in a large ſhip of the " burthen of nine hundred tons, which was moored " next to the Minion, we ſent the maſter of the Jeſus, " who underſtood the Spaniſh language, a ſecond time " to the vice-roy, who was intreated to repreſent " matters in their true light. This officer, perceiv- " ing that it was impoſſible longer to conceal his trea- " chery, detained the maſter; and cauſing the trump- " ets to be ſounded, encouraged the Spaniards to at-

" tack

" tack us, at once, on every ſide. Our men, on ſhore, " intimidated by theſe ſudden, and unforeſeen hoſtili- " ties, endeavoured to regain their ſhips; but the Spa- " niards landed their troops in ſuch multitudes, that " only a ſmall number of the Engliſh got on board of " the Jeſus; the reſt were refuſed quarter, and bar- " barouſly ſlain. The great Spaniſh ſhip, in which " nearly three hundred ſoldiers had ſecretly embarked, " immediately attacked the Minion. But, as the perfi- " dy of the Spaniards had been ſuſpected by the crew, " not long before, they had ſlipped her cables, and " contrived to clear her from the harbour. Thus diſ- " appointed, our enemies in the great ſhip, and two " more veſſels, aſſailed the Jeſus, which likewiſe, al- " though with great difficulty, and the loſs of ſeveral " of the mariners, got out to ſea."

" No ſooner had the Jeſus, and the Minion proceed- " ed about the length of two ſhips from the Spaniſh " fleet, than the fight began to be ſo warm on all " ſides, that within the ſpace of an hour, the Spaniſh " admiral, and another veſſel were ſunk, and the vice- " admiral was burned; ſo that from their veſſels we " were not in danger of receiving any great injury."

" In the mean time, the cannon of the iſland had " fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and it was by " them that we were principally annoyed. The " maſts, yards, and rigging of the Jeſus, were ſo " ſhattered that we had no hopes of clearing her " from the enemy. As our ſmall ſhips were alſo ſunk " by their artillery, we determined ſo to ſtation the " Minion, that the Jeſus might lie between her, and the " ſhore, and prove, as it were, a fence to ſecure her " from the cannon of the Spaniards, until night, " when it was propoſed to take ſuch proviſions, and

" neceſ-

" neceſſaries out of the Jeſus, as could conveniently " be ſaved, and then to leave her."

" Whilſt we were thus conſulting, and endeavour- " ing to place the Minion out of danger from the ſhot " which was directed from the ſhore, the Spaniards ſet " fire to two great ſhips, and ſuffered them to drive " violently down towards us. Alarmed at the approach " of theſe veſſels, the crew belonging to the Minion, " without waiting for the conſent either of the cap- " tain, or of the maſter, ſet ſail, but with ſuch preci- " pitation, and diſorder, that it was not without the " greateſt difficulty that I was received on board."

" The greater number of the men who were left " alive in the Jeſus contrived to follow the Minion, in " a ſmall boat; but the reſt, unable to enter it, were " left to the mercy of the Spaniards. Thus the Mi- " nion, with only one ſmall bark, of the burthen of " fifty tons, and the Judith, eſcaped from the purſuits " of our enemies; yet, at night, the laſt veſſel for- " ſook us. We now remained alone, poſſeſſed only of " two anchors, and two cables. Our ſhip was ſo da- " maged that it was difficult to keep her above water; " and of the crew, a great number were nearly deſ- " titute of proviſions. Concerning meaſures the moſt " proper to be taken, our opinions were divided. " Some urged the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the Spa- " niards: others were more inclined to truſt to the " mercy of the ſavages; and a third party deemed it " more eligible to keep the ſea, notwithſtanding that " the allowance of victuals was ſcarcely ſufficient for " the preſervation of our lives."

" In this alarming ſituation, we roved, during the " ſpace of fourteen days, over the unknown ocean, " and until the exceſs of famine obliged us once " more

"more to ſeek the land. Such was our miſery, that "hides were eſteemed palatable food. Of rats, mice, "cats, and dogs, not one which we could ſeize "eſcaped us; but parrots, and monkies were our "dainties. On the eighth of October, we diſem-"barked, near the extremity of the bay of Mexico, "and in twenty-three degrees, and a half. We had "imagined that the place was inhabited by Spaniards, "who would not only ſupply us with proviſions, but "aſſiſt us to repair the ſhips. In theſe expectations, "we were grievouſly diſappointed. Not a human "creature was to be ſeen; no means of ſubſiſtence "could be diſcovered; neither was any haven near in "which we might refit our veſſel. Notwithſtanding "that every proſpect of relief was vaniſhed, a num-"ber of the crew, worn out, and emaciated by fa-"mine, deſired to be ſet on ſhore; and I conſented to "their requeſt."

"Out of two hundred perſons, to which, at this diſ-"treſsful period, our company amounted, the half "determined to ſeek a better fortune on the land. "With the remainder, after having procured ſome "freſh water, I again ſubmitted to the mercy of the "ſeas, and on the ſixteenth of October, renewed my "courſe (*u*)."

The infatuated wretches who quitted Hawkins, and his aſſociates, appear to have been reſerved for more afflicting trials of adverſity. A boat, in which they rowed towards the ſhore, was overſet at a conſi-derable diſtance from the ſhip; and two of the Engliſh periſhed amidſt the waves; the reſt ſwam, with dif-ficulty, to the land. Here, ſome almoſt immediately expired; and the ſurvivors, ſinking under the ſeveri-ties

(*u*) See Sir Walter Raleigh's works, V. 2. p. 271, 272. —Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.

rities of ſickneſs, thirſt, and hunger, threw themſelves in deſpair upon the ground, and even wiſhed for death to put a period to their miſery.

In theſe moments of calamity, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Chicemici Indians, a tribe of ſavages, who, at the firſt onſet, ſlew eight of the Engliſh, and were preparing to deſtroy the reſt, when, neither able, nor inclined to ſtand on their defence, they inſtantly ſubmitted, and ſued for mercy. Their aſſailants had concluded that they were Spaniards, and, on the diſcovery of their miſtake, appeared affected by the fatal conſequences which reſulted from it. Abſtaining from any farther violence, they left them to their fate, yet not without directing them to purſue a road that was terminated by the ſea-port of Panuco. The Engliſh now divided themſelves into two companies; the firſt, under the conduct of Miles Philips, proceeded to the Weſtward; and the ſecond, led on by David Ingram, took their journey Northwards (*x*).

After a ſeries of afflictions, the Weſtern company (excluſive of thoſe wretches who periſhed on the road,) arrived (oppreſſed with apprehenſions of greater miſeries,) at Panuco. Here, the governor, reviling them by the name of Engliſh miſcreants, flagitious Lutherans, and execrated heretics, ſeized on the few effects which they had yet preſerved, and caſt them into priſon. When they ſollicited for the attendance of the ſurgeons on ſuch of their aſſociates as had been wounded by the Indians, he replied, with brutal mockery, that the adminiſtration of an effectual cure was the ſole province of the executioner, who might juſtly be

(*x*) Philips, and Ingram returned afterwards to England. The former related to Purchas the melancholy adventures of his companions.

be offended, ſhould they attempt to gain a remedy from the ſkill of others. After a confinement of four days, they were dragged into the preſence of the governor, and, having been bound with halters, informed that the guard of Indians was waiting to conduct them as far as Mexico, at the diſtance of nine leagues. On the road, although they did not experience equal barbarity from all the keepers, they were frequently knocked down, and inſulted with the cry of "march! march! ye Engliſh dogs, vile Lutherans, and enemies of GOD." On their arrival at Mexico, the greater number were attacked by violent fevers; (the conſequence of their fatigues, and ſufferings, during a tedious journey,) calamities which contrary to their expectations, were followed by a gentler treatment from the Spaniards, who ſent them to the hoſpitals, and gave orders that no means ſhould be neglected for the preſervation of their lives. The few perſons who recovered were, notwithſtanding, reduced to ſlavery, at Teſcuco, and muſt inevitably have periſhed under the barbarity of their maſters, if Robert Sweeting, (the ſon of an Engliſhman, by a Spaniſh woman,) had not ſucceſsfully interpoſed in their behalf.

During a conſiderable time, their ſervitude was alleviated by indulgence, and, availing themſelves of the frequent permiſſions which they received to labour for their own ſubſiſtence, they had acquired a ſmall property, and obſerved with pleaſure that each effort of their induſtry contributed to its increaſe. At length, arrived the fatal interruption to their happineſs. The officers of the inquiſition deprived them of their effects, and, for the ſpace of eighteen months, confined their perſons in loathſome dungeons. At the expiration of this period, they were tortured on the wheel, and idly hoping to preſerve their lives, confeſſed to crimes

crimes of which they never had been guilty. The judges now pronounced the ſentence, which, after a ſhort delay, was carried into execution. George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and one Cornelius, an Iriſhman were burned alive, with halters about their necks, and candles in their hands. Others were conducted naked, through the ſtreets, on horſe-back, and, having received three hundred laſhes, with long whips, were ſent immediately to the gallies, in which they ſerved, afterwards, during their allotted courſe of years. The bondage of the reſt was paſſed in monaſteries, from one of which Miles Philips effected his eſcape, and, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two, returned in ſafety, to his native country.

Amongſt the Engliſh whom the vice-roy of Mexico had confined, in irons, on board of the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Velaſco, were Robert Barret, John Gilbert, John Bone, and Job Hortop. The two firſt were burned alive, at Sevil, from the priſon of which city, they had endeavoured to eſcape. The others (concerned, alſo, in like attempts,) were ſentenced to ſlavery, in the gallies, during ten years, and, after the expiration of that term, to perpetual confinement. Horton was, at length, redeemed by Hernando de Soria, a Spaniard of noble birth, and ſingular humanity. Under this maſter, he paſſed an eaſy ſervitude of three years, at the cloſe of which, he embraced a favourable opportunity to regain his liberty, ſet ſail for England, and in December, of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety, arrived at Portſmouth.

The reader hath already been informed (*y*) that captain Hawkins, and his aſſociates prepared for a return

(*y*) See Page 173, of this volume.

return to Europe. It is, now, neceſſary to add that, having weighed anchor, they ſtood through the gulph of Florida, and ſuffering by the violence of a tempeſt, were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the inhabitants, obſerving that they were enfeebled by ſickneſs, and ſcarcely capable of making any defence, appeared determined to attack them. Eager to avoid the danger, they proceeded inſtantly to Vigo, where, fortunately, they were joined by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, the commanders of which ſupplied them with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted. From this port, they directed their courſe homewards, and arrived, ſafely, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, on the twentieth of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-nine: of thoſe afflictions which were experienced during the courſe of the voyage, the celebrated adventurer, who bore his ſhare of miſery, hath left a full relation. In his concluding remarks, we find a ſtriking picture of misfortune: "If all the ca-"lamities of this expedition ſhould be perfectly, and "thoroughly written, there would need a painful man "with his pen, and as great a time as he had that "wrote the lives, and deaths of the martyrs (z) (a)."

When a ſmall ſquadron belonging to the royal navy, and under the command of Hawkins, was riding in Cat-water, the admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, ap-

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 469, 487, 524, 524.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 541.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. p. 145, 149.—Camden, p. 352.

(a) To perpetuate the memory of the celebrated action, at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, at that period, clarencieux, added to the arms of Hawkins, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, or, an eſcallop, between two palmers ſtaves, ſable.—The patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant.

pointed to eſcort the princeſs Anne, of Auſtria, from Flanders (*b*), endeavoured to run between the iſland, and the place, without paying the cuſtomary ſalutes, Hawkins directed the gunner of his own ſhip to fire at the rigging of the Spaniſh admiral, who, apparently inattentive to this proceeding, continued on his courſe, when a ſecond ſhot, which had been levelled at the hull, paſſed through his veſſel. He now took in the flags, and top-ſails; and, having caſt anchor, ſent an officer of diſtinction, with compliments, and complaints, to Hawkins. This brave commander, ſtanding on the deck, would neither admit him, nor liſten to his meſſage; but bade him inform the admiral that as he had neglected the reſpect due to the queen of England, within her ſeas, and port, and was alſo accompanied by ſo large a fleet, he muſt not preſume to keep his preſent ſtation, but depart in twelve hours; after the expiration of which time, ſhould he ſtill refuſe to comply with this injunction, the conſequences might be fatal, and teach him to bewail that obſtinacy which had marked him more as a declared enemy than the ſubject of a prince who had acknowledged that the dominion of the ſurrounding ſeas was veſted in Elizabeth.

On the delivery of this meſſage, the Spaniſh admiral came on board the Jeſus, where, at firſt, he was informed that Hawkins would not conſent to ſee him. At length, prevailing by repeated ſollicitations, he obtained an interview, during which he remarked, with equal aſtoniſhment, and concern, that he had been inſulted by hoſtilities, as unmerited as they were violent; and that he expected to have found a different recep-

(*b*) See page 4 of this volume, and page 168 of the ſecond volume.

reception, in the time of peace. It was anſwered that the proceeding which he had falſely termed an unwarrantable outrage muſt be conſidered as the juſt puniſhment of his arrogance; that he well knew what honours were continually exacted, and received by the fleets of England; that an expreſs had been diſpatched to court, with the particulars of his behaviour; and that until the commands of an irritated ſovereign ſhould be declared, he muſt retire from the harbour. The admiral now aſſerted that his offence was the reſult of ignorance alone, and that he wiſhed to make the fulleſt reparation, provided that it might not derogate from the dignity of the monarch whom he ſerved.

An offer ſo ſubmiſſive produced a milder conference; and Hawkins, after a ſlight inſinuation that the Spaniards had been guilty of a wilful negligence, demanded whether if the Engliſh ſhips ſhould enter a port belonging to the king his maſter, and, mooring near his fleet, carry their flags within their tops, the admiral would not ſhoot them down, and oblige the offenders to depart immediately. He replied in the affirmative; again confeſſed his error, and ſent the neceſſary inſtructions to the officer, who commanded during his abſence. Soon afterwards, the Spaniſh ſhips ſaluted; and Hawkins, ſatisfied by this conceſſion, entertained the admiral on board the Jeſus, with every mark of reconciliation, and reſpect (*c*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty eight, Hawkins (who had been appointed rear-admiral, and commander of the Victory,) was knighted by the lord Effingham. Concerning thoſe important

(*c*) Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations, p. 22.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 542.

ſervices which raiſed him to this diſtinction, we have already written (*d*), and it is, now, ſufficient to obſerve that his conduct, during thoſe celebrated engagements which terminated in the defeat of the Armada, was equally applauded by his ſovereign, and his country.

In the year, one thouſand five hundred, and ninety, the queen gave orders for the equipment of two ſquadrons, which conſiſted of ten ſhips; the Revenge, the Mary-Roſe, the Lyon, the Bonaventure, the Rainbow, the Hope, the Crane, the Acquittance, the Foreſight, and the Swiftſure. Of theſe, five were commanded by Sir John Hawkins, and the reſt by Sir Martin Frobiſher. Under them were Sir Edward Yorke, and the captains Fenner, Beeſton, Beſtock, and Burnell. The deſign of this armament was to annoy the coaſts of Spain, and if poſſible, intercept the plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The firſt reſolution adopted by Philip was to oppoſe theſe gallant officers, with a ſuperior ſquadron of twenty ſail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Baſſan; but, on mature deliberation, he relinquiſhed this deſign, and directing his ſhips to ſtay within the harbour, diſpatched a light veſſel to the Indies, with orders for the detention of the fleet, until the cloſe of winter. On this ſtation, Sir John Hawkins, and his collegue, remained during ſeven months; yet without either taking a prize, or performing a ſingle ſervice that was worthy to be recorded. They next made an attempt on the iſland of Fyal, which had ſubmitted, in the preceding year, to the earl of Cumberland; but, at this period, the citadel was compleatly fortified, and the Inhabitants had received ſo ample a ſupply of ammunition, and artillery,

(*d*) Volume the ſecond, from page 273, to page 300.

ry, that Sir John, and his associates, judged it prudent to retreat.

On this occasion, although the conduct of the admirals was not acceptable to the people, the courtiers were unanimous in representing it as beneficial to the state. It was observed, that by compelling the Spanish navy to seek a shelter in the harbours, and by reducing the plate-fleet to the necessity of wintering in the Indies, they had aimed a fatal stroke at the maritime power of an ambitious enemy, and exposed the merchants of Seville, and the trading cities, to that severe distress which is the natural consequence of a lengthened interruption to the prosperity of commerce (*e*).

The circumstances relating to the unsuccessful expedition against Puerto Ricco have been already mentioned (*f*); and it is scarcely necessary to repeat that whilst the English ships were lying at anchor before this island, Sir John Hawkins expired (*g*), a melancholy sacrifice to the anguish of the mind (*h*). The character of this celebrated hero is drawn in the memoirs of his great, but equally unfortunate associate, Sir Francis Drake, who, although brave to an extreme, appears, like Hawkins, to have been destitute of that magnanimity which, after a brilliant, and uninterrupted

(*e*) Camden's annals, p. 620.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts.—Linschotten's voyages, chap. 99.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 544.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 275.

(*f*) See the 143d page of this volume.

(*g*) November 21st. 1595.

(*h*) Camden, p. 698, 699, 700.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 182, 183.—Hackluyt, v. 3. p. 583.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1183.—Relation of a voyage to the West Indies, by Sir Francis Drake, &c. p. 50.

ſeries of ſucceſſes, can riſe ſuperior to the calamities that may enſue.

That few officers in the marine department were, at this period, poſſeſſed of ſuch talents, conduct, and intrepidity, as could have enabled them to ſurpaſs the valiant and accompliſhed Hawkins (*i*) is a truth to which we readily aſſent. His great abilities were fully ripened by an experience which had reſulted from an active, and aſſiduous ſervice, during a courſe of forty eight years, twenty-two of which were paſſed under the immediate countenance of his ſovereign, who permitted him to hold, for ſuch a length of time, the lucrative, and honourable office of treaſurer of the navy (*k*).

At one period, he, in conjunction with his eldeſt brother, William, was the owner of thirty veſſels, of conſiderable burthen (*l*); and it was generally allowed that he had made more uſeful diſcoveries, and introduced better regulations amongſt the ſeveral departments of the navy, than any officers who, in preceding reigns, had been advanced to the ſame poſts. In ſupport of this opinion, may be introduced a glorious evidence; the inſtitution of the cheſt, at Chatham. This fund is of itſelf ſufficient to teach us to revere the names of Drake, and Hawkins, under the exertions of whoſe wiſdom, and humanity it was, at firſt, encouraged, and augmented. Their plan that ſeamen poſſeſſed of the advantages reſulting from ſucceſs, and, in their own perſons, ſtrangers to the calamities of war, ſhould, by a voluntary deduction from their

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 148.
(*k*) Camden, p. 700.—Stowe's annals. p. 807.—Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 371.
(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

their pay, at once afford relief, and recompence to thoſe aſſociates who had been wounded, in the ſervice of their country, was approved, and patronized by Elizabeth, and (what is of much greater moment,) hath been adopted by poſterity (*m*).

(*m*) Lambarde's perambulation of Kent.—Kilburn's Survey of Kent, p. 53. MS. in the collection of Mr. Pepys.—Sir John Hawkins erected, and amply endowed an hoſpital, at Chatham.

MEMOIRS
OF
Sir ROBERT DUDLEY.

THIS noble adventurer (born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, (*a*), at Sheen, in the county of Surry,) was the son of the earl of Leicester, by the lady Douglas Sheffield, the daughter of William, lord Howard, of Effingham. He received the first advantages of a learned education from Mr. Owen Jones, a gentleman of great abilities, who resided at Offington, in Sussex (*b*). From this place, he was sent, at the age of fifteen years, to the university of Oxford, and admitted into the college of Christ Church, where he became the pupil of the celebrated Thomas Chaloner, who, afterwards, received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed tutor to Henry, prince of Wales, and son to James, the first. In consequence of the demise of his father, on the fourth of September, in the year, one thou-

(*a*) Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. 2. p. 275.
(*b*) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, Edit. 1656. p. 167.

thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight (*c*), at his houſe, at Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, Sir Robert ſtood intitled, on the death of his uncle, Ambroſe, earl of Warwick, to the magnificent caſtle of Kenilworth; and other large eſtates in different quarters of the kingdom (*d*).

At this period, although endued with talents which would have enabled him to ſhine with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the moſt arduous department of public life, he appeared to give an excluſive preference to the ſtudy of the naval arts; and, ſhortly afterwards, embraced an opportunity of gratifying his inclinations, by a voyage to the Weſt-Indies. On this enterprize, he took the command of the Bear, a ſtout veſſel, of the burthen of two hundred tons, and was attended by captain Munck, in the Bear's Whelp, and two pinnaces, the Friſking, and the Earwig (*e*).

On the ſixth of November (*f*), the ſhips departed from Southampton, and towards the evening of the ſame day, were ſeparated by the violence of a tempeſt. Not intimidated by this event, Sir Robert determined to proceed upon the voyage, and ſailed along the coaſts of Spain, within view of cape Finiſterre, and cape Vincent. Here, he chaſed ſeveral veſſels, all of which were either in the ſervice of England, or belonged to powers at peace with that kingdom. Previous to his depar-

(*c*) Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 788.—Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(*d*) See the laſt teſtament of Robert, earl of Leiceſter, in Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, prefixed to the firſt volume of the Sidney-Papers, p. 70.

(*e*) He had prepared, as early as in his twenty-ſecond year, for an expedition into the ſouth ſeas; but Elizabeth, and her miniſters, who thought the undertaking dangerous, obliged him to relinquiſh it.

(*f*) A. D. 1594.

departure from this latitude, he had the ſatisfaction to obtain intelligence concerning the Bear's Whelp, which had returned, in ſafety, to Southampton, with two prizes.

On the fourteenth of December, he ſteered for the Canaries, in hopes of joining ſome veſſels, on board of which it might be convenient to ſend the greater number of his men, who, amounting to two hundred, were ſo incommoded for want of room, and pure air, that they languiſhed under fevers, and infectious diſorders. After a ſhort cruize, he had the good fortune to intercept, and take two caravels. The command of theſe was given to Wood, and Wentworth, both officers of tried fidelity, and experience. With his ſquadron, again conſiſting of three ſhips, Sir Robert proceeded to Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Africa. From thence, he ſailed to the iſland of Trinidada; and, on the firſt of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, came to an anchor in the Bay of Pelicans, ſo called from the number of thoſe birds which continually fly around it. On the ſeventh, he diſpatched the two caravels, from Paracoa, where he was then at anchor, to the Weſt-Indies, and directed the commanding officers to remain on that ſtation, until they ſhould have taken ſome valuable prizes; and, afterwards, ſail back to England. He next ſent the boat, and fourteen of his crew, to Orocoa, at the diſtance of an hundred, and fifty miles; and ſituated near the banks of the river Oronoque. They were inſtructed to ſearch for mines of gold, and returned with proſpects of ſucceſs which they neglected to improve. The Indian chief, reſiding on the ſpot, had aſſured them that he was willing to exchange a quantity of that valuable metal, for hatchets, Knives, and jews-

jews-harps. In confirmation of the ſincerity of his promiſes, he ſent Sir Robert three ſmall half-moons of gold, and two bracelets of ſilver. The latter became eager to engage in ſo lucrative a commerce, and was equally aſtoniſhed, and exaſperated at the diſcovery that not one of his aſſociates would either promote the undertaking, or aſſign a reaſon for their refuſal. On the day following, he was joined by a pinnace, under the command of captain Popham, with whom he afterwards ſet ſail (*g*), and, having proceeded to the northward of Granata, took a ſmall prize, the freight of which he ſecured, and then deſtroyed her. He, next, ſteered towards the iſland of Flores, and Cuervo, in hopes of intercepting ſome valuable prizes; but, at length, diſappointed in his expectations, and nearly deſtitute of proviſions, he prepared for a return to England.

On his paſſage, and at a period when numbers of his men had died of ſickneſs, he was attacked by a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons. The engagement laſted, at cloſe quarters, during the ſpace of two days, when a deficiency of powder, and the feeble ſituation of the crew, obliged him to retreat; yet not until the enemy was on the point of ſinking; an event which (if the information given to Sir Robert was well-grounded,) ſoon followed this involuntary ceſſation of hoſtilities. Excluſive of the loſs of this ſhip, the Engliſh had taken, during the courſe of the expedition, eight Spaniſh veſſels, moſt of which, they either ſunk, or burned. Continuing their courſe, they, on the fifth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, arrived ſafely at Saint Ives, in the county of Cornwall (*h*).

At

(*g*) March 12th.
(*h*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.

At the commencement of the month of June, in the ſucceeding year, Sir Robert accompanied the earl of Eſſex, and the lord high-admiral, Howard, on the celebrated expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood, in reward of his conduct, and intrepidity, during the courſe of the action, before that place (*i*). Endeavouring, not long afterwards, to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he was fruſtrated in the execution of this attempt, by an oppoſition at once ſo irritating, powerful, and unexpected, that, in the bitterneſs of reſentment, and deſpair, he reſolved intirely to forſake his country (*k*). Embarking inſtantly for Italy, he ſailed to Florence, and, on his arrival, was received with every mark of friendſhip, and diſtinction, by the then reigning grand-duke of Tuſcany, and the arch-ducheſs Magdalen, of Auſtria, ſiſter to the emperor, Ferdinand, the ſecond (*l*).

In this agreeable retirement, he became an object of ſuch general approbation, and placed his great abilities in ſo conſpicuous a point of view, by the introduction of plans for the improvement of ſhipping, the eſtabliſhment of various manufactures, and the Augmentation of foreign commerce, that the emperor, in compliance with the intreaties of the arch-ducheſs (to whom Sir Robert had, at a preceding period, been appointed great chamberlain,) was pleaſed, by letters patent, (bearing date, at Vienna, on the ninth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty,) to create him a duke, and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland, and earl of Warwick; honours to which he afterwards received

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.—Speed, p. 869.
(*k*) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, p. 166.
(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 579.

ceived an unſolicited addition (*m*), by the enrollment of his name, amongſt the nobility of Rome, in conſequence of an order from Urban the eighth, at that Æra, the reigning pope (*n*). It was during his reſidence, in this country, that he formed the great deſign of converting Leghorn into a free port (*o*), and, in acknowledgement of this important ſervice, he received from the grand duke a conſiderable penſion, excluſive of the free inheritance of the caſtle of Carbello, a magnificent villa, (at the diſtance of three miles from Florence,) which he ſo increaſed, and beautified, as to render it one of the moſt elegant, and ſpacious palaces in Italy. At this place, he paid his debt to nature, in September, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-nine, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, having acquired in the republic of letters, a moſt extenſive reputation, his claim to which will ſeldom be diſputed by thoſe who ſhall attentively peruſe his works (*p*).

(*m*) A. D. 1630.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580.

(*o*) Fuller's Worthies in Surry, p. 84.—Biſhop Burnet's Travels through Switzerland, Letter 5.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 761.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580.

(*p*) Of theſe the moſt curious is the following: "Arcano del Mate di D Ruberto Dudleo, Duca di Northumbria, e Conte di Varwic. Diviſo in Libri ſei. Nel pſimo de quali ſi tratta dello Longitudine practicabile in diverſi Modi, d'Invenzione, dell 'Autore. Nel ſecondo, delle Carte ſue generali, e de Portolani rettificati in Longitudine, e Latitudine. Nel Terzo, della Diſciplina ſua marittima, e militare. Nel quarto, dell 'Architettura ſua nautica di Vaſcelli da Guerra. Nel quinta, della Navigazione ſcientifica, e perfetta, cive ſpirale, o di gran Circoli. Nel ſeſto, delle Carte ſue geographice, e particolari. Impreſſione ſeconda. Coretta, et accreſciuta, ſecondo l'Originale del

" del Medeſimo excellentiſs : Signor Duca, che ſi conſerva " nella Libreria del Convento di Firenze della Pace, de Mo- " naci di S. Bernardo dell' Ordine Fulienſe. Con l'Indice " de Capitoli, e delle Figure, et Iſtruzione a librari per le- " garle. Al ſereniſſimo Ferdinando Secondo Granduca di " Toſcana. In Fiorenza. 1661. 2 Tom. Fol."

It is elegantly printed on a very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of ſix hundred beautifully engraved plates, conſiſting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic teſtimonies of the excellent genius of its illuſtrious author. The chapters to the firſt five books which compoſe the firſt volume, as well as thoſe of the ſixth which comprehend the ſecond volume, are again ſubdivided into ſeveral ſections, and make, in the whole, one hundred, and forty-three pages. Immediately after the title-page to the firſt volume, appears a general index to the firſt five books ; next come the letters-patent of Ferdinand, the ſecond ; then, a ſhort advertiſement, addreſſed, by the Editor, to the learned reader, ſetting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole ſix books, which is followed by a diſcourſe on the mathematical ſcience, as far as it relates to his ſubject, intended as an introduction to his great work.—Of this book, but few copies are within the kingdom. One was depoſited as a great rarity, in the archivs of the Bodleian library, at Oxford, and another copy (preſented by Sir R. Moray,) is in the collection of the royal ſociety. The firſt edition appeared in 1630, 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods.—See Wood's Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 128.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580, 581.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

EARL of CUMBERLAND.

THIS celebrated adventurer (the laſt heir-male of his illuſtrious family (*a*),) was born in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and fifty eight, and paſſed the earlier part of his life chiefly under the care of the learned John Whitgift, who was afterwards advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Whatſoever advantages the earl of Cumberland might have reaped from an academical education, the ſucceeding employments of his life, afford a proof that he preferred the active culture of the naval arts, to the exertion of his talents, either in the ſenate, or the court. It is not through theſe laſt departments that we attempt to trace him; the chief objects of our notice are his enterprizes on the ocean; and, therefore, without adverting to thoſe circumſtances which are foreign to the deſign of this

(*a*) Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingſhed.

Memoir, we ſhall proceed to the relation of his voyages of diſcovery.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, he prepared, at his own expence, for an expedition to the South ſeas, and, towards the concluſion of the ſummer, had fitted out a ſmall ſquadron, which conſiſted of the Red Dragon, (the admiral's ſhip,) of the burthen of two hundred and ſixty tons, having on board ſeventy men, under the command of Robert Widdrington; the bark Clifford, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons, and commanded by captain Chriſtopher Liſter; the Roe, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Hawes; and the Dorothy, a pinnace, formerly belonging to Mr. Walter Raleigh.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the earl, and his aſſociates ſet ſail from Plymouth, and, in three days after their departure, intercepted, and engaged ſixteen northern hulks, the commanders of which pretended that they were employed in the ſervice of the citizens of Hamburgh, and proceeding thither on their return from Liſbon. Their refuſal to ſtrike their flags, and lower their top-ſails, in deference to the Engliſh, gave occaſion to the action, which ended in their defeat. Having ſurrendered to the conquerors a great part of the cargo, and quantities of proviſions, they were ſuffered to renew their courſe.

On the ſeventeenth of September, the fleet approached the coaſt of Barbary, and, ſoon afterwards, caſt anchor in the river del Oro. They, next, arrived, in the month of October, at Sierra Leona, from whence, having procured a ſupply of freſh water, rice, and various proviſions, they ſailed towards America, and reached the ſouthern latitude of thirty degrees, and forty minutes, on the fourth of January, in the year,

year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven.

On the tenth, they intercepted a ſmall Portugueſe veſſel, which was bound to Santa Fe, a town ſituated on the banks of Rio della Plata. On board of this prize, were ſeveral negroes, and a ſmall cargo of ſugar, rice, and ſweetmeats. A ſecond ſhip, in the ſervice of the ſame nation, fell into their hands, on the ſucceeding day; and both were ſuffered to depart, after having been rifled of ſuch articles as might be uſeful to the Engliſh.

On the twelfth, they reached Seal Iſland; and, on the fourteenth, arrived at Green Iſland, where they remained during the courſe of ſixteen days, employed in filling the caſks with water, and catching quantities of fiſh. At this place, they diſcovered, and received on board, Miles Philips, one of thoſe unfortunate adventurers who had been left by captain Hawkins, in the Weſt-Indies.

On the ſeventh of February, and whilſt the ſhips were out at ſea, the earl of Cumberland called a council of all the officers, and gentlemen, on board of the Red Dragon, in order that they might determine what courſe, under their preſent circumſtances, was the moſt proper to be taken. At this meeting, ſo different were the opinions of the ſpeakers, that it was deemed prudent to adjourn until the ſucceeding day. Previous to the renewal of debates, an inquiry had been made concerning the ſtate, and quantity of the proviſions; and the diſcovery of an impending ſcarcity was ſo alarming, that the council, more unanimous in their reſolves, inſiſted on the expediency of applying to their own uſes the neceſſaries which had been allotted to the prizes, and recommended the immediate diſmiſſion of the latter. When theſe propo-

ſals had been executed, the ſhips proceeded, with the wind at North, towards the ſtreights, but were ſoon obliged, partly for want of proviſions, and partly on account of the inclemency of the ſeaſon, to change their courſe, and bear away for the Brazils.

On the fifth of April, they ſailed into the road of Camana, and, having procured a ſupply of hogs, and bullocks, came to an anchor, on the eleventh, before the town of Baya. Here, they found a Portugueſe fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips, one of which was of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, and mounted twelve pieces of artillery. At midnight, the Engliſh, in their boats, ſurrounded four of the largeſt of theſe veſſels, and, cutting their cables, towed them, with impunity, from the harbour, notwithſtanding that both in the attack, and the retreat, they were expoſed to the inceſſant fire of the cannon, and the ſmall arms. They even diſembarked, and procured aſſiſtance from the ſhore, although the Portugueſe, and Indian troops were drawn up, in order to oppoſe them.

Whilſt the Engliſh were conveying to their fleet the prizes, the leaſt of which was of the burthen of one hundred and thirty tons, they intercepted a large hulk, the captain of which obſerved that he belonged to Fluſhing. He was, notwithſtanding, directed to keep company with the prizes, and, obeying, brought with him a ſmall bark, and a caravel, freighted with forty butts of wine. The laſt appears to have been the moſt valuable part of the plunder which was taken during the courſe of this ſucceſsful enterprize.

On the ſixth of May, the pinnace, attended by two boats, and manned with fifty of the crew, was ſent aſhore for water and freſh proviſions. On their return, a galley, on board of which were four hundred

Portu-

Portugueſe, excluſive of Indians, began a furious attack; yet, in ſpite of the ſuperiority of their numbers, they were expoſed to ſo terrible a reſiſtance from the Engliſh, (who loſt but three men,) that only thirty ſurvived, and eſcaped to relate the particulars of their defeat.

On the ſixteenth, the Engliſh diſembarked again, plundered the refining houſes of the Portugueſe, and, having ſeized, out of a thouſand pots of ſugar, a quantity for their own uſe, ſet fire to the reſt. On the day following, they took a ſmall caravel, and, diſcovering that her freight was not of any value, immediately deſtroyed her.

On the twenty-ſecond, they renewed their courſe, and, ſoon afterwards (*b*), reached an iſland (at the diſtance of twelve leagues to the ſouthward of the town of Baya,) where they ſtayed in order to procure a large ſupply of wood, and water.

On the twenty-fourth, they intercepted a canoe, in which were an Indian, a native of the adjacent county, and a mariner, in the ſervice of the Portugueſe. The latter confeſſed that a new veſſel, (belonging to theſe people,) of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with meal, ſugar, and other Proviſions, was ſecreted at a ſhort diſtance from the ſhore, where it was intended that ſhe ſhould lie, until the departure of the Engliſh, from the coaſt. The earl of Cumberland directed the greater number of the crew to man the pinnace, and, attended by the Portugueſe, proceed in ſearch of this valuable ſhip. They immediately ſet ſail, but, as the night advanced, were obliged to caſt anchor.

On the twenty-ſixth, they found her concealed in ſo ſmall a creek that it was with difficulty that the

(*b*) April 23, 1587.

boat could enter it. She ſurrendered, without the leaſt reſiſtance, and, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts, the Engliſh proceeded with her to their own ſhips. On the ſixteenth of June, they took a pinnace, the cargo of which was not conſiderable. At this period, the crews began to murmur, lamented over their long abſence from their native country, and expreſſed an inſurmountable averſion from the continuance of the voyage to the ſouth ſeas. Unable to remove their uneaſineſs, the earl conſented that they ſhould return home, and, on the thirtieth of September, the fleet arrived at Plymouth.

The miſcarriages of this enterprize have been attributed to Widdrington, who, at every conſultation, expreſſed an unwillingneſs to paſs the ſtreights of Magellan, and continually raiſed ſome obſtacles againſt the meaſure. The behaviour of Liſter ſeems more intitled to approbation: he perpetually recommended the neceſſity of purſuing the enterprize, for the accompliſhment of which the fleet was fitted out, and, whilſt others expreſſed an eagerneſs to return, declared that if he were ſuffered to take eight ſeamen in exchange for landſmen, and, at the ſame time, ſupplied with ſix butts of wine, one barrel of oil, and three of fiſh, he would purſue the voyage, with the bark Clifford, alone; but even with this offer, the majority were unwilling to comply (*c*).

The next celebrated naval enterprize in which the earl of Cumberland bore an active part, was the ſucceſsful operation againſt the Armada, in the year, one thou-

(*c*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingſhed.—Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 769.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 685.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 576.

thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight. At this period, he took the command of the Elizabeth-Bonaventure, and bravely contributed to that victory, the particulars of which have been already mentioned (*d*).

In October of the ſame year, the queen appointed him to the command of a ſquadron, in which it was intended that he ſhould purſue his voyage to the ſouth ſeas, and gave orders that the Golden Lion, a ſhip belonging to the royal navy, ſhould be lent to him during the continuance of the enterprize. Having victualled, and equipped this, and other veſſels, at his own expence, he ſailed, with ſeveral gentlemen, from England, towards the concluſion of the month. The ſucceſs of this expedition was not anſwerable to the preparations; neither could the earl at this period, carry his deſigns into execution. The great obſtacles were unfavourable winds, and tempeſtuous weather, during which the Golden Lion loſt her main-maſt, by the board. The only prize taken was the Hare, of Dunkirk, on her paſſage through the narrow ſeas, for Spain, and freighted chiefly with articles of merchandize (*e*).

Not intimidated by diſappointments, the earl of Cumberland prepared, in the ſucceeding year, for an expedition to the Azores. Elizabeth, who looked with approbation on his enterprizes, permitted him to take the Victory, a veſſel of conſiderable force, and belonging to her navy. The remainder of his little ſquadron conſiſted of the Megg, (vice-admiral,) commanded by captain Monſon (*f*); the Margaret, (rear-

(*d*) See volume II. of this work, from page 270, to page 304.

(*e*) Harris's coll. v. 1. p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. p. p. 263.

(*f*) Afterwards Sir William Monſon.

admiral, commanded by captain Careleſs (*g*); and a caravel, commanded by captain Pigeon. All theſe, with the Victory, (on board of which was the earl of Cumberland, and, under him, captain Liſter,) were completely equipped, and manned with their proper complements of four hundred mariners, and ſoldiers.

On the eighteenth of June, the Engliſh ſet ſail from Plymouth, and, ſhortly afterwards (*h*), intercepted, and took, three French ſhips, in the ſervice of the League,) freighted with fiſh, and on their paſſage from Newfoundland, to Nieuhaven, and Saint Maloes. Of theſe, two were ſent to England, together with the Margaret, which, being ill-conſtructed, and in bad repair, was deemed unable to proceed upon the voyage. On the twenty-eighth, and the ſucceeding day, they met with ſeveral of the ſhips, belonging to the ſquadron, under the joint command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, who were returning from Cadiz, in ſuch diſtreſs, reſulting from the expenditure of their proviſions, that they muſt have periſhed, if the earl of Cumberland, and his aſſociates, had not relieved them.

On the thirteenth of July, and, at a ſhort diſtance from the Spaniſh coaſt, the Engliſh took twelve ſhips belonging to the Hanſe Towns, and, having rifled them of ſpices, valued at ſeven thouſand pounds, permitted them to depart towards their reſpective ports.

The fleet now ſailed to the Azores, and, on the firſt of Auguſt, arrived in ſight of the iſland of Saint Michael. As it had been determined to cut the cables of four Spaniſh veſſels, and, at midnight, convey them from the harbour, orders were given that falſe colours ſhould be hoiſted, the better to facilitate the execution of the enterprize. Accordingly, under the enſigns

(*g*) Or White. (*h*) June 21ſt.

ſigns of Spain, the boats proceeded to the place of action, and, unreſiſted, towed off two ſhips, the crews of which, excepting a ſmall number, leaped into the ocean, and, with dreadful outcries, alarmed the inhabitants of the town, who fired ſeveral ſhot from the artillery on the ramparts, but in ſo erring a direction that none took place. The prizes were chiefly freighted with wine, and oil; acquiſitions leſs valuable than thoſe which were made, on a ſucceeding day (*i*), when the caravel took a veſſel laden not only with thirty tons of Madeira wine, but with great quantities of ſugar, ſweet-meats, woollen-cloth, ſilk, and taffatas. At this place, the Engliſh were joined by the captains Davis, and Markeſbury, under whoſe command were two veſſels (one of which belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh,) a pinnace, and a bark, named the Lime.

Having received advice that the Spaniſh carracks were at anchor near Fyal, the Earl of Cumberland proceeded, with his Squadron, to that iſland, and, arriving there, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, diſcovered but few veſſels; a diſappointment which was heightened by the information that a rich ſhip had left the port, on the preceding day. Three of the Engliſh boats, under the command of the Captains Liſter, and Monſon, made a deſperate attack on a veſſel of the burthen of three hundred tons, having on board fifty men, and mounting eighteen pieces of artillery. She was moored to the caſtle, the great guns of which played on the boats, during the whole time of the action, which ended, not only in the capture of this veſſel, but of another that had arrived with a rich cargo from the Indies. Soon afterwards, the boats, in defiance of the inceſſant cannonading of the enemy, aſ-

ſailed,

(*i*) Auguſt 7th.

ſailed, and towed away from the harbour, ſeveral ſmall ſhips, which were returned from Guinea, with cargoes of elephants teeth, cocoa, and goat-ſkins.

As he had miſſed the carracks, the earl was determined to direct his hoſtilities againſt the town of Fyal, and reduced it, without the loſs of a ſingle man. Having taken from the fort fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and their military ſtores, he accepted of a ranſom (for the religious houſes, and churches,) which was paid in plate, and amounted to the value of two thouſand ducats. Unfortunately, the Engliſh did not arrive in time to intercept the rich Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, which conſiſted of eighteen large ſhips, and, in ſight of their purſuers, came to an anchor, at the port of Angra, in Tercera, a ſafe ſhelter, and ſo well defended by an adjoining citadel, that an attempt to ſeize the veſſels muſt inevitably have miſcarried.

From hence, the ſhips ſailed to the iſland of Saint Michael, and, afterwards, to that of Saint Mary, where they took two prizes, on their paſſage from the Brazils, and laden with ſugar. Theſe were ſent to England, in company with the Megg, whilſt the earl, attended by the remainder of his ſquadron, held on his courſe for Spain. During the voyage, he took two other veſſels, one of which bound from France, to Newfoundland, and, in the ſervice of the League, was of the burthen of two hundred tons. The other had been ſeparated from the Weſt-Indian fleet, to which ſhe belonged, and was of the burthen of four hundred tons: amongſt the articles of lading were bars of ſilver, hides, ſugar, and cochineal, the whole of which was valued at one hundred thouſand pounds.

They next arrived at the iſland of Gracioſa, the inhabitants of which, after having reſiſted, during the courſe of two days, were allowed to capitulate, and

pre-

preſerved the place by the ſurrender of a large quantity of proviſions. Two more prizes fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were freighted with ſugar, and valued at ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling.

The capture of a third ſhip, under the caſtle of the iſland of Saint Mary, was a ſervice of more danger than the earl of Cumberland, and his aſſociates, as yet accuſtomed to conquer without ſuffering from the violence of oppoſition, had expected to engage in. Numbers of the Engliſh were either killed or wounded; a calamity which muſt, in ſome meaſure, be attributed to the obſtinacy of captain Liſter, who, contrary to all perſuaſions, diſembarked in the very face of the fortifications. During the action, the earl of Cumberland was much expoſed to the fire of the enemy. Three balls rebounded from his target, and a fourth was lodged, although not deeply, in his ſide. By the grenadoes, and the vollies of ſtones which had been diſcharged from the warlike inſtruments of the enemy, he was ſo ſeverely wounded that the blood iſſued from his face, legs, and hands, which were alſo burnt in many parts.

The Engliſh now proceeded on their return homewards, and, as the prizes, and priſoners became numerous, captain Liſter received orders to take the rich Weſt-Indian ſhip, under his convoy, and expedite his courſe. This unfortunate commander was wrecked, ſoon afterwards, at Mount's-Bay, near the borders of Cornwall, where the veſſels were loſt, and all the company, excepting ſix, periſhed amidſt the waves.

Calamities little ſhort of thoſe which we have now related, were felt by our illuſtrious adventurer, and his aſſociates. They are mentioned in the following quotations; and it is needleſs to apologize for the

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inſertion of it, as the deſcriptions of a fellow-ſufferer muſt make the deepeſt impreſſions on the reader.

"Soon afterwards, the wind came about to the eaſt-"ward, ſo that we could not fetch any part of Eng-"land. And, hereupon, alſo, an allowance of drink "which was ſcarce enough before, became yet leſs, "and leſs ſo; inſomuch that now a man was allowed "but half a pint at a meal, and that, many times "ſcarce ſweet. This, notwithſtanding, was an happy "eſtate in compariſon of that which followed; for, "from half a pint, we came to a quarter, neither did "that laſt long; ſo that by reaſon of this great ſcar-"city of drink, and contrariety of wind, we thought "to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But "when we came near thither, we were driven ſo far "to leeward, that we could fetch no part of it. In "the mean time, we were allowed, every man, three "or four ſpoonfuls of vinegar, to drink at a meal; "for, of other drink we had none, ſaving only at "two, or three meals, when we had inſtead hereof as "much wine, which was wringed out of wine-leaves, "that remained. With this hard fare (for, by reaſon "of our great want of drink, we durſt eat but ve-"ry little,) we continued for a fortnight; ſaving "that now, and then, we feaſted when there fell any "hail, or rain. The hail-ſtones we gathered up, "and did eat them more pleaſantly than if they had "been the ſweeteſt comfits in this world. The rain-"drops were ſo carefully ſaved that, ſo near as we "could, not one was loſt, in all our ſhip. Some hanged "up ſheets tied with cords by the four corners, and "a weight in the midſt, that the water might run "down thither, and ſo be received into ſome veſſel ſet, "or hanged underneath: ſome that wanted ſheets,

"hanged

" hanged up napkins, and clouts, and watched them
" until they were thoroughly wet, then wringing, and
" ſucking out the water. And that water which fell
" down, and waſhed away the filth, and ſoiling of the
" ſhip, was trodden under foot, and became as bad as
" if it had been running down the kennel, many
" times, when it rained, was not loſt, but watched,
" and attended carefully, yea, ſometimes with ſtrife,
" and contention, at every ſcupper-hole, and other
" places where it ran down, with diſhes, pots, cans,
" and jars, whereof ſome drank hearty draughts, even
" as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to cleanſe,
" or ſettle it. Others cleanſed it firſt, but not often,
" for, it was ſo thick, and went ſo ſlowly through, that
" they might ill endure to tarry ſo long, and were loth
" to loſe too much of that precious ſtuff. Some licked,
" with their tongues, like dogs, the boards under their
" feet, the ſides, rails, and maſts of the ſhip. O-
" thers, that were more ingenious, faſtened girdles, or
" ropes, about the maſts, daubing tallow between
" them, and the maſts, that the rain might not run
" down between, in ſuch ſort that thoſe ropes, or gir-
" dles, hanging lower on one ſide than the other, a
" ſpout of leather was faſtened to the loweſt part of
" them, that all the rain-drops that came running
" down the maſts, might meet together, at that place,
" and there be received. Some alſo put bullets of lead
" into their mouths to ſlake their thirſt. Now, in
" every corner of the ſhip, were heard the lamenta-
" ble cries of ſick and wounded men, ſounding wo-
" fully in our ears, pitifully complaining for want of
" drink, being ready to die, yea, many dying for lack
" thereof, ſo as by reaſon of this great extremity, we
" loſt many more men than we had done all the voy-
" age before."

During

During theſe bitter trials of affliction, the conduct of the earl of Cumberland was full of fortitude, and reſignation; nor did he once refuſe to bear an ample ſhare in thoſe diſtreſſes which were experienced by the meaneſt of the ſailors. When the Engliſh were driven to the laſt extremities, and had abandoned hope, a veſſel appeared in ſight, and bearing down upon them. Their joy was beyond all bounds when they perceived that ſhe diſplayed the colours of their own nation. Scarcely was ſhe within hail, when they exclaimed that they were on the point of periſhing, and intreated for immediate relief. Their wiſhes were now gratified, and they obtained ſuch a quantity of proviſions as laſted until they had reached the coaſt of Ireland. Having ſupplied themſelves with all neceſſaries from an adjacent port, they proceeded on their return to England, and arrived ſafely at Falmouth, on the twenty-ninth of December, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-nine (*k*).

As the circumſtances relating to the engagement in the bay of Fyal afford ſuch ſtriking inſtances of the puſillanimity of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the Engliſh, we ſhall preſent the reader with a detail of them, in the words of a diſtinguiſhed officer (*l*), who bore an active ſhare in the ſucceſſes of the day.

"When I ſerved as vice-admiral under the earl of "Cumberland, to the Azores, we came to Flores, the "weſtermoſt iſland of the ſeven. My lord had no-

"tice

(*k*) The particulars relating to the expedition to the Azores, are taken from Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 686.—Hackluyt, v. 2. part 2. p. 155.—Purchas's Pilgrims, v. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, v. 1. p. 270.—and chiefly from Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.

(*l*) Sir William Monſon.

" tice of certain ſhips, riding in the road of Fyal, to " the ſouthward of which iſland, he had paſſed eight " days before. Upon this news, he haſtened thither, " both to be reſolved of the truth thereof, and to make " an attempt upon the ſhips, if he could ſee a poſſi- " bility to prevail. But, on his arrival, in two days " afterwards, a calm took him towards the evening, " and he was not able to reach within two leagues of " the road where the ſhips lay. Hereupon a council " was called, wherein I, and captain Liſter very earn- " eſtly propoſed, and, by intreaty, prevailed that we " might have leave, in that calm, to row to the road, " to take a view of the ſhips, in order that we might " perceive where to obtain advantages, by ſurpriſing " them early on the morrow."

" As we drew near the Spaniards, the daſhing of " our oars was heard, which gave the alarm to the " admiral-ſhip, which only wore the flag, and in- " ſtantly let fly her ordnance, without any certain " aim, more than the daſhing of the oars directed. " Captain Liſter, and I, ſeeing ourſelves miſſed by the " ſhot, were ſo encouraged that, rather like mad, than " diſcreet men, we ran aboard the admiral-ſhip, " with an intent ſuddenly to ſurprize her; but, find- " ing ſo great an inequality in our forces, (for, the " ſhip carried eighteen pieces of ordnance,) we were " glad to put off our boat, and retire, repenting of our " enterprize."

" As we were rowing again towards our fleet, which, " all this while, beheld the fight, and heard the re- " port of the ſhips ordnance, we met another boat, " of greater burthen, ſent to ſuccour us. After a joy- " ful ſalutation, we reſolved, and concluded to return " again with our boats, and give a ſecond aſſault upon " the admiral, telling them the ſtate, and condition,

" of

" of the ſhip, which did ſo encourage both the one, " and the other, that, by conſent, it was agreed that " they ſhould board her in the quarter, and we in " the hawſe, and we to cut her cable, and let her " drive to ſea. All this was ſucceſsfully performed, " and the ſhip miraculouſly poſſeſſed, notwithſtanding " the continual ſhot from the caſtle, to which the ſhip " was moored; and which caſtle we took, in a month " afterwards. I muſt not forget that as we entered the " admiral-ſhip, on the one ſide, the Spaniards leaped " overboard, on the other, except the captain, Don " Juan de Palma, and one more.

" Now, having got an unexpected victory, rather " by valour, than by reaſon, we towed out the ſhip " with our two boats, the caſtle not ſparing to fire at " us, until we brought her without reach of the ſhot, " and then we agreed to take out all our men, except " one at the helm to govern her, and ſtruck down her " ſails; and we ourſelves returned in our boats, once " more into the road, where we poſſeſſed ourſelves of " the other ſeven ſhips left behind, three of which " were of a reaſonable good value."

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-one, the earl of Cumberland departed on a ſecond expedition, with a ſmall ſquadron, which conſiſted of the following ſhips; the Garland, (admiral,) of the burthen of ſix hundred tons (*m*); the Sampſon, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and ſixty tons; the Golden Noble, (rear-admiral,) the Allegarta; and a ſmall pinnace, called the Diſcovery.

After a ſhort cruize, the Engliſh took two prizes. The firſt was laden with ſugar, and on her paſſage from the

(*m*) This ſhip belonged to the royal navy, and was lent to the earl, by the queen. The remainder of the ſquadron was fitted out at his own expence.

the iſland of Saint Thomas. She was diſcovered to have a quantity of water in the hull, yet no leak could be perceived. The earl, concluding that ſhe muſt quickly ſink, ſecured the cargo, and then directed that ſhe ſhould be turned adrift. The other veſſel, having been long detained in her courſe to England, by contrary winds, was obliged, on account of the great ſcarcity of proviſions, to enter a Spaniſh harbour, and, was immediately taken.

Soon after this event, the Engliſh intercepted, and ſeized two Dutch veſſels, when Sir William Monſon, the commander of the Golden Noble, was ordered to take them under convoy, and proceed to Plymouth. In the night, they were becalmed, and ſome gallies belonging to the port of Penicha, rowed up, engaged, and took them. The report of the artillery was heard by the earl of Cumberland, who, by the want of wind, was prevented from making ſail to their relief. During the courſe of the action, which ended in the loſs of the two prizes, captain Bayly was ſlain, and Monſon and his aſſociates were carried priſoners to Penicha, and from thence conveyed to Liſbon. The earl immediately wrote to the arch-duke Albert, (who, at that period, was the viceroy,) requeſting that the Engliſh might be humanely treated, and threatening to retaliate any injuries which they might ſuffer, with double ſeverity, upon the Spaniards. Albert, either intimidated by the meſſage, or purſuing the natural generoſity of his temper, ſupplied the mariners, and ſoldiers with new cloathing, and ſent them thus equipped to the earl of Cumberland, but detained Sir William Monſon, and ſix officers, as hoſtages for the ranſom of the reſt.

Whilſt the Engliſh were cruizing near the coaſt, they received intelligence that a formidable Armada

was aſſembled at the Groyne, and waited only for orders to ſail, and intercept a ſquadron under the command of the lord Thomas Howard, who was ſtationed near the Azores, for the purpoſe of ſurprizing the Weſt-Indian plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The Moon-Shine (a veſſel which had joined the earl of Cumberland ſoon after his departure from the coaſt of England,) was accordingly diſpatched to give the lord Howard notice of the preparations of the enemy (*n*). At her return, the earl proceeded homewards with his ſquadron, and, ſhortly afterwards, arrived at Plymouth (*o*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, the earl of Cumberland was again engaged in the neceſſary equipments for a fifth expedition, but declined the offer which the queen made him of a veſſel from the royal navy, from an apprehenſion that he might loſe ſome opportunities of taking valuable prizes, when under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to a ſtrict order that no ſhip particularly belonging to Elizabeth ſhould be ſuffered to fall cloſe along ſide of a Spaniſh veſſel, leſt both might be deſtroyed by fire. The ſquadron employed on this occaſion was hired from the merchants of the port of London, and conſiſted of the Tyger, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons, the Sampſon, the Golden Noble, and two ſmall veſſels.

The long duration of unfavourable winds, and the conſequent expenditure of proviſions, during three months, in different harbours, were circumſtances which prevented the earl of Cumberland from taking the com-

(*n*) See the ſecond volume of this work, pages 311, 312.

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1145.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

command of this naval armament. Previous to the period at which the ſhips had proceeded to the weſtward of the port of Plymouth, the opportunity of intercepting the outward-bound Spaniſh carracks was entirely loſt, and our adventurer, thus baffled in his moſt important views, returned to London, after having transferred the chief command to captain Norton, who was inſtructed to ſail immediately to the Azores.

On their paſſage to theſe iſlands, the Engliſh intercepted, and took a Portugueſe veſſel, within view of the fortreſs of Caſcais, and, ſoon afterwards the Golden Noble ſet ſail with her for Plymouth. The reſt of the ſquadron came to an anchor at the Azores, from whence, having procured freſh water, and proviſions, they departed in order to intercept the Santa Croce, a Portugueſe carrack, freighted with ſilver, and merchandize of immenſe value. The commander of this veſſel, obſerving that his enemies were in ſight, and giving chace, crouded every ſail, and ſtood towards the port of Angra, in Tercera. On the paſſage, he obſerved an Engliſh man of war bearing down upon him, and therefore, to avoid the dangers which ſurrounded him, was reduced to the neceſſity of altering his courſe, and attempted to recover the road of Lagowna, near the ſouthern extremity of the iſle of Flores.

Towards the night, the weather changed, and ſo great was the violence of the tempeſt, that no ſhips belonging to the Engliſh ſquadron were able to carry ſails ſufficient for the purpoſe of coming up with the carrack; which, ſoon afterwards, caſt anchor near the ſhore, and was unladen by the Portugueſe, who, next, loaded her great guns, and then ſet fire to her, from an apprehenſion that ſhe might otherwiſe have been taken by the enemy. The diſcharge of ordnance did no material injury to the Engliſh, and, captain

Norton, who judged that by immediately diſembarking with his aſſociates, he might be able to ſeize the valuable effects which had been landed from the carrack, gave orders that preparations ſhould be made for the execution of his deſign. Accordingly, a ſelect number of the crew were ſupplied with arms, and, proceeded under the command of Norton, in ſeveral boats, towards the ſhore. Having gained it, they took poſſeſſion of the plate, and merchandize, after a ſhort, and feeble oppoſition from the Portugueſe. They, next, attacked the town, and reduced it with ſtill greater eaſe, as the majority of the inhabitants, yielding to the firſt impulſe of their conſternation, had fled into the country.

On the third of Auguſt, the Engliſh intercepted the Madre de Dios, another carrack, more large, and valuable than the former. The action was maintained with equal obſtinacy, and reſolution, during the ſpace of nearly two hours, when the Portugueſe ſubmitted to the mercy of the conquerors. Eager to ſeize the plunder, the Engliſh ran from place, to place, with lighted candles in their hands, and during the confuſion which enſued, a cabin, filled with powder barrels, was accidentally ſet on fire. Inattentive to this impending calamity, numbers were ſtill buſied in their ſearch for treaſure; and, if Norton, with equal prudence, and intrepidity, had not attended ſolely to circumſtances more important than the ſeizure of the booty, and intirely extinguiſhed the flames which were beginning to ſpread around the cabin, every man on board muſt inevitably have periſhed.

No ſooner had the crews ſecured the cargo than they engaged in violent altercations concerning the diviſion of the ſpoil. All, to whatſoever ſhip they might belong, aſſerted that they were intitled to a ſhare;

ſhare; and the individuals on board a veſſel particularly in the ſervice of the queen, made ſtronger, and more undeniable pretenſions than the reſt. If the earl of Cumberland had received his dividend, in proportion to the expences which he incurred, it is more than probable that he muſt have gained at leaſt a million ſterling; but, as he did not act in perſon, and his commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his return, it was adjudged that he was not intitled to a ſhare, and could have no expectations, but from the generoſity of Elizabeth, who permitted him to receive thirty-ſix thouſand pounds, and warned him to conſider this liberality as a matter of unprecedented favour (*p*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three, the earl of Cumberland prepared for a ſixth expedition, and, at his own expence, fitted out the following veſſels; the Golden Lion, (admiral;) the Bonaventure, (vice-admiral;) the Anthony, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Pilgrim, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Chaldon, and the Diſcovery. Of this ſquadron, the earl took the command; and, under him, as vice, and rear-admirals, were Sir Edward York, and Sir William Monſon.

The two firſt prizes taken after the departure of the ſhips from England were French veſſels, in the ſervice of the League, and freighted with ſuch rich cargoes that their value was rated at thrice the ſum of the expences of the voyage. Soon afterwards, the Golden Lion was ſeparated from the fleet, and intercepted twelve hulks, the commanders of which preſuming on their ſuperior force, refuſed to pay the cuſtomary

(*p*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 687.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 289, 290.

honours to the Engliſh flag. This diſreſpect was immediately followed by hoſtilities, and, at the cloſe of a furious engagement, which laſted during the ſpace of two hours, the admiral of the hulks diſplayed a flag of truce, ſent an officer on board the Golden Lion, with humble acknowledgments of his error, and not only took in his colours, and ſtruck his top-ſails, but made a voluntary confeſſion that the ſquadron under his command was laden with ammunition, and powder for the ſervice of the king of Spain. Theſe the earl immediately ſecured, and then ſuffered the hulks to proceed upon their voyage.

On the day following, the Engliſh took a light veſſel, that had been cruizing on the ſeas, in order to make diſcoveries for a powerful Armada, which was then ſtationed at the diſtance of a few leagues. From the account given by the captain of this prize, the earl was convinced of the neceſſity of avoiding an enemy whom it was impoſſible to oppoſe, and conquer. he therefore determined to quit ſo dangerous a ſtation, but, being ſuddenly attacked by a violent indiſpoſition, prepared for a return to England, whilſt the Anthony, commanded by captain James Lancton, the Pilgrim, under captain Francis Slingſby, and the Diſcovery, proceeded on their voyage to the Weſt-Indies.

Having procured freſh water, and proviſions, at the iſland of Saint Lucia, the Engliſh reſolved to attack the town of Margarita, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the produce of the pearl fiſheries, which were carried on near ſeven ſmall villages, to each of which the Spaniards removed by turns, and, in conſequence of the variations in their proſpects of ſucceſs. All the valuable pearls were conveyed monthly to Margarita, ſituated at the diſtance of three leagues from the water ſide.

During

During the day-time, the Engliſh were cautious of approaching near the intended ſcene of action, leſt, being too ſoon diſcovered, they might be prevented from executing their deſigns. At night, they diſembarked, and marched to two of the fiſheries, which were both empty, and deſerted. Soon afterwards, they were ſo fortunate as to ſeize a Spaniard, and forced him to conduct them to a third fiſhery, at which his countrymen were then employed. The captains Lancton, and Slingſby, at the head of twenty-eight men, proceeded by land, whilſt the boats fell down the river, in order that if it ſhould appear neceſſary, they might cover their retreat. This party was divided into three bodies, for the purpoſe of making attacks in different places, at the ſame time; a meaſure not neceſſary on this occaſion, when the Spaniards threw down their arms, and fled for ſhelter into the woods. The Engliſh having ſeized a quantity of pearls, which were eſtimated at the ſum of two thouſand pounds, retired, unreſiſted, to a neighbouring village, where they remained during the following night. At break of day, they went on board the fiſhing boats, and regaled on oyſters, the pearls of which were of great value. Theſe alſo they ſecured, and immediately embarking, ſailed into the harbour before the town, and compelled the Spaniards to pay a compoſition in pearls, equal to two thouſand ducats, and thus preſerve their houſes from being reduced to aſhes.

The adjacent iſlands were now alarmed, and all the inhabitants, together with the troops, prepared for their defence. At Cumana, the Spaniſh forces were ſo numerous that the Engliſh ſailed by without the leaſt delay, and, having coaſted along Terra Firma, arrived at Rio della Hacha, from whence the natives, equally

enabled to make a vigorous reſiſtance, had ſent their valuable commodities to be concealed in caverns, on the ſummits of the mountains. Thus baffled in their enterprizes, captain Norton, and his aſſociates proceeded ſucceſſively to Hiſpaniola, Cape Tuberone, the bay of Saint Nicholas, fort Saint Plat, Mona, and the iſland of Savona. From thence, they ſteered their courſe to the river Socco, at the diſtance of nearly five leagues to the eaſtward of Saint Domingo, and, having ſailed far up the river, attacked the large houſes which had been conſtructed, by the Spaniſh planters, on the adjoining ſhore. Theſe the Engliſh threatened to reduce to aſhes, but the owners, by rich preſents, prevailed on their invaders to deſiſt from the execution of ſuch dreadful purpoſes. When they had received a ſupply of Bullocks, Caſſavi meal, fruits, ſeveral valuable commodities, the Engliſh proceeded to the dwellings on the river Marracava, from the inhabitants of which they extorted all the choiceſt articles of their merchandize.

They next ſailed to Saint Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba, from the laſt of which places the Pilgrim departed on her voyage homewards, whilſt the Anthony, accompanied by the frigate, ſailed towards the bay of Honduras. Arriving in the road of Puerto de Cavallos, they intercepted ſeven Spaniſh ſhips, the leaſt of which was of the burthen of one hundred and eighty tons. After an engagement of nearly twenty-four hours, the Spaniards deſerted their veſſels, and, having taken away the rudders, eſcaped in boats to the adjacent land. Their conquerors ſet fire to the whole fleet, except the admiral-ſhip, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which they freighted with the moſt valuable articles, ſelected from all the cargoes, and then proceeded with her for Plymouth, where they

they arrived, on the fifteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four (*q*).

In the ſpring of the ſame year, the earl of Cumberland had fitted out, at his own expence, a ſmall Squadron, of which the following were the ſhips: the Royal Exchange, (admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain George Cave; the May-flower, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain William Anthony; and the Sampſon, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Nicholas Downton. Theſe, attended by a caravel, and a ſmall pinnace, ſet ſail from Plymouth, on the ſixth of April, and, in few days from their departure, intercepted, and took a ſmall bark, laden with Galicia wine, and other articles of merchandize. After this event, they proceeded on their paſſage, and, at the commencement of the month of June, arrived within ſight of the iſland of Saint Michael.

On the twelfth the Engliſh deſcried, and immediately gave chace to a large Carrack, which ſoon took in her ſails, and prepared for battle. When the May-flower, the headmoſt of the ſquadron, had arrived within reach of her artillery, ſhe diſcharged a broad-ſide, but the ſhot were ſo ill directed that no material injury enſued. The night was now advanced, and the May-flower muſt have been obliged to ſheer off, if the Sampſon, and, ſoon afterwards, the Royal Exchange, had not ſailed to her aſſiſtance. The action laſted during a conſiderable time; and, at length, the ſtern, and fore-caſtle of the carrack were ſet on fire by the cannon of the May-flower. The flames aſcended to ſo

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 687.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 299, 300.

ſo great a heighth that the fore-ſail, and fore-top-ſail of this laſt ſhip were entirely conſumed, neither could the Spaniards, who were ſeverely annoyed by the muſketry of their adverſaries, find leiſure even for an attempt to extinguiſh the conflagration.

In order to avoid the fatal conſequences which were likely to reſult from this calamity, the Royal Exchange, and the Sampſon fell off, leaving the May-flower ſoul of the ſprit-ſail-yard of the carrack, and in ſuch danger of being conſumed with her, that it was with difficulty, that, aſſiſted by the boats which were employed in towing, ſhe retreated to a ſecurer diſtance.

The majority of the crew belonging to the carrack were now driven to deſpair, and intreated their commander, Don Franciſco de Melo, to hang out a flag of truce; but, the carpenter, and a ſmall number of the men, more reſolute, declared if their aſſociates would endeavour to extinguiſh the flames, they were prepared to fight to the laſt extremity. At length, when all hopes of ſucceſs were vaniſhed, they threw themſelves, and their treaſures, into the ocean. Several of the officers, who had caſt off their golden chains, jewels, and all their raiment, ſwam to the ſides of the Engliſh veſſels, and, in piteous accents, implored for quarter. Amongſt the Spaniards received on board were Don Nuno Velio Pereiras, the governor of Sofala, and Don Bras de Carrero, the commander of a galleon which had been caſt away near the coaſt of Mozambique. Theſe Perſons were brought to England, and, afterwards, ranſomed. Others might have been received into the ſhips, if they had not diveſted themſelves of thoſe ornaments which could have gratified the thirſt of Plunder, in their adverſaries. It was juſtly obſerved that they ſhould have ſwam towards the Engliſh with their pearls, and jewels about

their

their Necks. The ſeamen would then have been careful of ſuch valuable perſons, and not have ſuffered them to have ſunk, had there appeared a poſſibility of ſaving them; but theſe unhappy wretches had diveſted themſelves of what ſhould have pleaded in their favour; and for want of theſe advocates periſhed miſerably in the ocean.

The carrack continued burning during the ſpace of twenty-four hours, after the departure of the Engliſh; at length, the flames reached ſixty barrels of powder which had been placed under the lower deck, and ſhe was blown to pieces.

The number of Spaniards who periſhed on this occaſion, amounted to eleven hundred men. On the ſide of the Engliſh, captain Anthony, and ſix ſoldiers were killed, during the courſe of the action. Captain Cave was ſeverely wounded, and died on his paſſage homewards. The carrack was larger, and more valuably freighted than the Madre de Dios, and, had ſhe fallen into the hands of her adverſaries, muſt have enriched them all, from the commanding officer, to the loweſt ſailor.

The Engliſh next arrived at the iſle of Florez, from whence, having obtained a conſiderable ſupply of freſh water, and proviſions, they ſet ſail for England, and, on the twenty-ninth of June, came up with a large carrack, of the burthen of fifteen hundred tons, and commanded by Don Lewis de Coſtanio. When this officer was ſummoned by the Engliſh to ſurrender, he ſet them at defiance, and immediately proceeded to hoſtilities. The engagement, which was once only interrupted by a ſhort calm, laſted during the courſe of ſeveral hours, and the carrack was ſo miſerably ſhattered, that the Engliſh might ſoon have taken her, if, diſpirited at the loſs of their ſuperior officers, they had

not

not declined the conteſt, when the advantage was in their favour. After this event, they became anxious to return home, and, in the month of September, arrived at Portſmouth (*r*).

The earl of Cumberland, diſſatisfied with the ſmall ſhare which had been allowed to him by the court, out of the treaſure which had been taken in the Spaniſh carrack, called the Madre de Dios, and ſtill more diſpleaſed at the loſs of the two great veſſels (commanded by the Dons Franciſco de Melo, and Lewis de Coſtanio,) for want of a ſufficient force to take them, conſtructed, at his own expence, a ſhip of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and the largeſt which had ever belonged to any Engliſh ſubject. Elizabeth condeſcended to appear at Deptford, when ſhe was launched, and named her the Scourge of Malice (*s*).

The earl intended to have performed this voyage in his new veſſel, accompanied by the captains Monſon, and Jarret, in the Alcedo, and Anthony, together with a frigate; but, on his arrival at Plymouth, he received a meſſage from the queen, in conſequence of which he was obliged to return to London.

The ſhips were, notwithſtanding, directed to proceed upon the enterpriſe, and captain Lancton was appointed admiral, a promotion ſo offenſive to Monſon, that he determined to quit the ſquadron, and cruiſe alone in the Alcedo.

In

(*r*) Harris Coll. V. 1. p. 688.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio. p. 303, 304.

(*s*) This ſhip made three voyages in the ſervice of the earl of Cumberland, and was afterwards ſold to the Eaſt-India Company, for whom (under the name of the Dragon,) ſhe made many returns, and was concerned in the capture of ſeveral Portugueſe veſſels.

In the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Scourge of Malice, the Anthony, and the frigate, ſailed to the Azores, where they intercepted, and took a caravel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with ſugar. Soon afterwards, on their approach to the iſle of Flores, they diſcovered a large veſſel, ſtationed to the leeward, and bearing the colours of the king of Spain. Arriving within hail, they were informed that ſhe was the Saint Thomas, the vice-admiral of an armada, appointed to guard the Eaſt, and Weſt-India fleets. An action immediately enſued, during which the Engliſh cannonaded the enemy, with ſuch inceſſant fury, that they were obliged to retreat towards the reſt of the ſquadron, then lying at a ſhort diſtance. As Lancton obſerved, that a ſuperior force was ſo near at hand, he judged it prudent to decline a battle, and ſail upon another tack. Accordingly, he ſteered, unmoleſted, by the enemy, towards the coaſt of Spain. Here, they intercepted, and took three Dutch ſhips, which were lawful prizes, as being laden with wheat, copper, and various kinds of ammunition, and proviſion, for the ſervice of a power at war with England. After this event, the ſhips returned in ſafety, with their prizes, to the port of Plymouth (*t*).

It may not be improper to conclude the particulars of this expedition, with the reaſons of the deſertion of Sir William Monſon, as given by himſelf.

" In this year, I was married; but, previous to this " event, I engaged myſelf by promiſe to attend the " earl of Cumberland, as his vice-admiral, to ſea. " His lordſhip went in the Scourge of Malice, a ſtout " veſſel,

(*t*) Harris's Collection, V. 1. p. 688.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148.—Lediards naval hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 317, 318.

"veſſel, conſtructed at his own expence. His vice-"admiral ſhip was the Alcedo, which had been hired "of the merchants."

"Now, I began to have a proof of what I had before "juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; the inconſtant friendſhip of "the earl of Cumberland. For, although I was drawn "by his ſweet words, and promiſes, to this voyage, "and we had proceeded upon it ſo far as Plymouth, "and, from thence, eight, or nine leagues to ſea, to-"wards the coaſt of Spain, without imparting, or mak-"ing ſhew of any circumſtance to me, he ſuddenly "relinquiſhed the voyage (*u*), and appointed another "captain for his own ſhip, which ſo much diſpleaſed "me for the preſent, that I abandoned the company of "his ſhip, at ſea, and betook myſelf to my own ad-"venture. This afterwards bred a quarrel, between "the earl and me, and it was a long time before that "we were reconciled."

"My voyage produced no danger either of fa-"mine, or of the ſword, as other voyages had done. "The worſt enemy I found were ſtorms, and ſuch as "compelled me to cut my main-maſt by the board, "and bear away for England. After I had weathered "the coaſt of Spain, the ſtorm held on ſo outrageouſ-"ly, and was of ſuch long continuance, that I was "driven to Spain, before the Sea, betwixt the Groyne, "in Galicia, and Blavet, in Bretagne, which was, at "that period, in the hands of the Spaniards. The "ſea was ſo high, and the waves ſo powerful, that "they raked me fore and aft, for want of a main-"maſt to keep the ſhip ſteady; ſo that for many days "together, I expected nothing but to founder at ſea.

"Yet

(*u*) This paſſage ſeems to contradict a preceding aſſertion that the earl was recalled by Elizabeth.

" Yet it pleaſed GOD that I ſhould, at length, arrive " in ſafety, at Plymouth "

In the Year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſix, the earl of Cumberland again equipped the Scourge of Malice, and proceeded on a ninth expedition, accompanied by the Dreadnought, a ſhip belonging to the royal navy, and ſome other ſmall veſſels. At the diſtance of thirty leagues from the coaſt of England, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Scourge of Malice was ſhattered, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt, and became unfit for ſervice. The earl therefore returned immediately to England, in the Dreadnought.

At this period, the earl of Eſſex, and the lord Howard, high-admiral of England, were directed by Elizabeth to proceed towards the coaſt of Spain, with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ſhips ſelected from the navy, and a ſquadron of Flemiſh men of war (*x*). The earl unwilling to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of making valuable captures, fitted out the Aſcenſion, of the burthen of three hundred tons, carrying thirty-four pieces of artillery, and manned with one hundred, and twenty mariners, and ſoldiers. The captain was Francis Slingſby, who received orders to cruize for ſuch veſſels as might be on their paſſage from the port of Liſbon.

Thus equipped, the Aſcenſion proceeded on the voyage, and ſoon after her departure, was in danger of being loſt, during the violence of the tempeſt, and drove, with two anchors a-head, until ſhe had approached within the length of three cables of the Goodwin Sands. The Engliſh let fall their ſheet-anchor, and held by it until noon of the ſucceeding day, expecting that every

(*x*) See the ſecond volume of this work, and from page 329, to page 389.

every moment would prove their laſt. As their ſituation became more alarming, it was judged neceſſary to cut the cables, and endeavour to ſtand out to ſea. This they fortunately effected, and returned, on the day following to Plymouth.

Having repaired the damages which the Aſcenſion had ſuſtained, they renewed their courſe, and meeting with a caravel, quitted their ſhip, which was left under the care of a ſmall number of the mariners, and, entering into their boats, began a furious atttack, during which captain Slingſby was ſeverely wounded. The engagement might have ended in the capture of the Caravel, if Siriago, the Spaniſh admiral, who was ſtationed at a ſhort diſtance, had not ſent ſix ſhips to her relief, and, ſoon afterwards, arrived himſelf, in a large galleon, with which, aſſiſted by the other veſſels, he attempted to board the Aſcenſion. The Spaniards leaped into the fore, and main chains, imagining that they could have found an eaſy entrance into the ſhip, but were bravely, and effectually repulſed by the Engliſh, who, obſerving that numbers were aſſembled under the half-deck of the galleon, diſcharged amongſt them ſeveral vollies of ſmall ſhot, by which many were killed and wounded. Several, more puſillanimous than their aſſociates, had concealed themſelves at the commencement of the action, but being diſcovered, were forced to appear on deck; and, to prevent their eſcape, the captain directed that only the ſurgeon, carpenter, and cooper, ſhould be permitted to go down into the hold, and that afterwards, the hatchways ſhould be cloſed.

On the day following, the Spaniſh admiral bore down again, and appeared determined to renew the conteſt, but when he obſerved that the Engliſh were eagerly

eagerly preparing for reſiſtance, he tacked about, and proceeded immediately towards Liſbon.

The Aſcenſion continued near the coaſt, until all the proviſions (except a ſmall quantity, which could not have laſted longer than during the ſpace of three weeks,) were entirely expended. She then returned to England, but was not accompanied by any prize to compenſate for the dangers to which ſhe had been expoſed, or the damage that ſhe had ſuffered (*y*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety eight, the earl of Cumberland proceeded on a tenth expedition, which was conſiderably more important than any of the former (*z*). Excluſive of naval officers,

(*y*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 346, 347.

(*z*) Of the ſhips which compoſed his fleet, and were chiefly equipped at his own expence, the following is a Liſt.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Scourge of Malice, Admiral.	Earl of Cumberland. Under him, on the outward-bound paſſage, captain John Watts; and, on the homeward bound paſſage, captain James Lancton.
Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral.	Sir John Berkley.
Aſcenſion, rear-admiral.	Captain Robert Flicke.
Samſon.	Captain Henry Clifford, who died, and was ſucceeded by captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt.
Alcedo.	Captain James Ley, and, on the homeward bound paſſage, captain Thomas Cotch.
Conſent.	Captain Francis Slingſby.

cers, he was attended by a gallant train of land commanders, amongſt whom Sir John Berkley was the lieutenant-general. On the ſixth of March, the whole armament ſet ſail from Plymouth, and ſoon after their departure, the earl received information that five carracks more valuably freighted than any which had been ever ſent to India, were on the point of ſailing, under the convoy of twenty-five ſhips, which were all bound for the Braziles. A diſpoſition was immediately made for intercepting, and attacking them; but the Engliſh had the mortification to diſcover that their intentions were not concealed from the Spaniards, who had diſpatched

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
Proſperous.	Captain James Lancton, and on the homeward-bound paſſage, captain John Watts.
Centurion.	Captain Henry Palmer, and, on the homeward-bound paſſage, his ſon, captain William Palmer.
Galleon Conſtance.	Captain Hercules Folyambe.
Affection.	Captain Fleming.
Guiana.	Captain Chriſt. Colthurſt, and, on the homeward-bound paſſage, captain Gerrard Middleton.
Scout.	Captain Henry Joliffe.
Anthony.	Captain Robert Careleſs, who died, and was ſucceeded by captain Andrew Andrews.
Pegaſus.	Captain Edward Goodwin.
Royal Defence.	Captain Henry Bromley.
Margaret and John.	Captain John Dixon.
Barkley Bay.	Captain John Ley.
An old frigate.	Captain William Harper.

Excluſive of theſe, were two barges for the purpoſe of diſembarking the ſoldiers.

patched their light frigates to the different harbours, along the coaſt, in order to prevent the carracks, and other veſſels, from proceeding on their voyages. Previous to this event, the Engliſh had taken a ſhip belonging to the port of Hamburgh, and a merchantman in the ſervice of the French. The firſt was laden with corn, copper, powder, and other prohibited commodities. The cargo of the ſecond conſiſted ſolely of ſalt.

The earl of Cumberland, convinced that it would be in vain to wait longer either for the carracks, or the Brazil ſhips, ſet ſail, with his whole fleet, for the South Cape, after having taken two Flemiſh veſſels, freighted with corn. Paſſing by the Canaries, he proceeded to the iſland of Lancerota, and, on his arrival, attacked, reduced, and plundered it. It was then commanded by a Spaniſh nobleman, whoſe property was immenſe, and who exerted every ſpecies of tyranny over the ſubmiſſive, and unfortunate inhabitants of this, and the adjacent iſland of Forlaventura. The governor reſided in a ſtrong caſtle, conſtructed with ſtones, and acceſſible only by ladders. It was fortified on all ſides, and the ramparts were crouded with pieces of artillery. Within, this officer was guarded by two hundred ſoldiers, and domeſtics; and yet, although twenty men might, with eaſe, have defended the citadel againſt thirty times the number of opponents, the Spaniards fled, without having made the leaſt reſiſtance, and left it in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The town, (which conſiſted of an hundred houſes,) the church, and the monaſtery of friars, were likewiſe abandoned to the mercy of the conquerors. At this place, the plunder was of little value.

From Lancerota, the Engliſh ſet ſail, on the twenty-firſt of April, for Dominica, and the Virgin iſlands. At

the former of theſe places, they diſembarked, on the twenty-third of May, and remained there until the firſt of June. Previous to their departure, one of the captains, attended by a ſmall number of the ſoldiers, went up the river, and landed at an Indian town, where they were hoſpitably entertained by the chieftain of the place. It was at the Virgin Iſlands, that the earl of Cumberland, having aſſembled his officers, and the chief perſons belonging to his fleet, declared his intentions to direct his martial operations againſt Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco.

On the ſixth of June, the Engliſh arrived at this place, when their admiral diſembarked, at the head of a thouſand men, and immediately advanced to the ſcene of action. They were obliged to march, attended by a negro, who was their guide, over high rocks, and dreadful precipices. Between theſe, and the iſland, on which the town ſtood, was a ſmall arm of the ſea; and the Engliſh, who were not provided with boats, deſpaired of croſſing it. At length, they diſcovered a narrow cauſeway, terminated by a bridge, which was drawn up. Beyond it, the enemy had conſtructed a battery, and, at a ſhort diſtance from the ſpot, a lofty fortreſs commanded the whole cauſeway, into which the Spaniards could diſcharge the ſhot from their artillery, and ſmall arms. As the paſs was exceedingly obſtructed, the Engliſh choſe rather to wade through the water, by the ſide of it.

Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, which were augmented by the Sultrineſs of the day, the darkneſs of the night, and the neceſſary abſence of the earl of Cumberland (*a*), the ſoldiers reſolutely preſſed on to a gate

(*a*) He was obliged to retire, in conſequence of the bruizes which he had received by a fall from the precipice into

gate which ſtood in front of the battery, and began to hew it down with bills, and hatchets. During this enterprize, the Spaniards kept up an inceſſant firing, and their aſſailants were obliged to retreat, after having ſtood, for a long ſpace of time, up to their waiſts in water. The next attack was more ſucceſsful. Whilſt a party of muſketeers drove the enemy from their ordnance, on the one ſide, ſeveral pike-men rowed towards that part of the ſhore, which was ſituated between the fortreſs, and the town. It was owing to the good conduct, and intrepidity of the firſt body, that the laſt diſembarked, without any material oppoſition, and, joining their aſſociates, proceeded to the attack. The Spaniards now became intimidated, and not only deſerted the outworks, but intirely evacuated the town. Fort Mora, a place of great ſtrength, and two citadels, the one ſituated near the entrance of Puerto Ricco, and the other at the weſtern extremity of it, ſurrendered to the beſiegers, and left them in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of every place.

The town, conſiderably more ſpacious within the fortifications than Portſmouth, was filled with broad ſtreets, the chief edifices of which made a grand appearance; and, amongſt theſe, the moſt magnificent were the cathedral, and a friary. As the Spaniards had been accuſtomed to make Puerto Ricco, the great avenue to the continent of America, the earl intimated to his aſſociates a deſign of putting it into a ſtrong poſture of defence, and of maintaining ſhips within the harbour, in order that they might be ready to cruize againſt the enemy. The execution of this meaſure was recommended with equal ardour by the whole

into the ſea, and it was with difficulty that, incumbered by the weight of armour, he ſwam to ſhore.

company, and thoſe individuals were eſteemed particularly fortunate whoſe names were inſerted in the liſt of future reſidents on the ſpot. The earl now obliged all the former inhabitants to depart, notwithſtanding that they offered him five hundred pounds ſterling, excluſive of gold, and ſilver, in maſſy ſervices of plate, and many different articles of valuable merchandize, for a permiſſion to dwell within the town.

At the commencement of the preparations made by this illuſtrious adventurer for an eſtabliſhment at Puerto Ricco, an unexpected calamity put a period to his enterprizes. A dreadful diſorder broke out amongſt the Engliſh, and raged with ſuch violence that numbers expired within a ſhort time from the firſt appearance of infection, and the remainder proved inſufficient for the purpoſes of keeping poſſeſſion of the place, and of navigating the fleet to England. At the debarkation, the earl had muſtered more than one thouſand men; but, ſuch ravages had enſued from epidemical diſtempers, that ſcarcely five hundred of his aſſociates remained alive. The perſons choſen to reſide at Puerto Ricco were now diſpirited by calamities which yet threatened to prove fatal to the whole, and earneſtly intreated their commander that they might be ſuffered to depart. With this requeſt, he willingly complied, but judged it politic to keep poſſeſſion of the place, until he ſhould have obtained a conſiderable ranſom from the Spaniards. Concerning the mode of raiſing the ſums which it might be neceſſary to advance, They deſired ſome time for deliberation, and their ſubſequent behaviour convinced the Engliſh that they had ſecretly reſolved to evade the payment of any compoſition, and, at the firſt favourable opportunity, to attempt, by force of arms to take poſſeſſion of the iſland.

At

At this period, a caravel, freighted with pearls, which amounted to the value of a thouſand Ducats, came into the harbour, and was ſeized, in conſequence of an order from the earl of Cumberland. She had arrived from Margarita, on her paſſage to Spain; and the hopes of being ſuffered to proceed to that Kingdom, had induced the captain to confeſs that the pearl-cheſts, at the former place, were not only of immenſe value, but ſo careleſsly guarded that they might be plundered by a ſmall number of brave adventurers, with impunity. On the fifteenth of July, the day when the earl of Cumberland received this welcome information, three ſhips, the officers, and crews of which, were directed to attempt the ſeizure of the pearls, ſet Sail from Margarita; but, as this place lay ſouth-eaſt, and by ſouth, from Puerto Ricco, and the winds blew conſtantly in the ſummer either eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, or ſouth-eaſt, and by eaſt, the ſhips were driven back into the port, and the enterprize was intirely relinquiſhed. Previous to the return of the ſhips, another veſſel, bound from Angola, in Africa, and filled with negroes, entered the harbour, and was taken by the Engliſh.

When the earl of Cumberland diſcovered that the repeated delays of the Spaniards concerning the ſettlement of the ranſom were not likely to be terminated, and that they ceaſed to look with all their former terror on enemies whom ſickneſs had enfeebled, he ſet ſail (*b*) from Puerto Ricco, leaving more than half of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Berkley, who on this occaſion was intruſted with diſcretionary powers.

The two great ſhips which attended the earl were the Scourge of Malice, and the Samſon. The remain-

(*b*) Auguſt 14th. A. D. 1598.

der of the diviſion conſiſted of ſmaller veſſels ; and theſe were the Royal Defence, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, the frigate, two ſmall tranſports, a French Pinnace, and a Spaniſh galley, which he found in the harbour of Puerto Ricco. The Aſcenſion, the Conſtance, the Alcedo, the Conſent, the Pegaſus, the Centurion, and two fly-boats, all of which compoſed the ſtrength of the fleet, were left with Sir John Berkley. One great motive for the departure of the earl was the anxious inclination which he had felt to arrive ſpeedily at the iſlands, where he hoped to intercept either the Mexico fleet, or ſeveral of the carracks. That he did not reach Flores, until they had ſailed from thence appears to have been a fortunate event, as they were under the convoy of twenty large Spaniſh men of war ; a force too powerful for the oppoſition of his ſquadron. It is equally uncertain how long Sir John Berkley remained at Puerto Ricco, after the departure of the earl of Cumberland, and in what manner the treaty with the Spaniards relative to the payment of the ranſom was concluded. We are only informed that each diviſion of the fleet was in danger of being loſt during the violence of a tempeſt, and together entered the port of Flores. From thence, they renewed their courſe, on the ſixteenth of September, and arrived at Portſmouth, in October, of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-eight.

Thus ended the laſt voyage of this illuſtrious adventurer, whoſe abilities were equally conſpicuous in the different departments of the ſoldier, and the Stateſman. Alike verſed in the art of governing, and every branch of naval, and military Science, he acquired an exalted reputation in conſequence of thoſe ſervices which he had rendered to Elizabeth, and her ſubjects, in war, and peace. Fortune frowned upon his enterprizes. If

his

his ſucceſſes had been proportioned to his merit, talents, and well-concerted projects, his character muſt have ſtood as high as that of any of his contemporaries. The vaſt expences which he had incurred by the conſtruction, and equipment of veſſels, had conſiderably impaired his income, and the only profitable acquiſition which he made was at Puerto Ricco. This conſiſted of hides, ginger, ſugar, eighty pieces of iron ordnance, and pearls, the value of which amounted to a thouſand ducats.

The moſt important reſult of this expedition may be traced in the loſſes felt by the king of Spain, whoſe carracks were prevented from making their voyage to the Indies, and whoſe plate-fleet was detained, during the courſe of a whole year, in the harbours of America.

Amongſt the adventurers who ſerved under the earl of Cumberland, ſix hundred died of an epidemical diſorder, at Puerto Ricco. Forty were drowned at that calamitous period when the Pegaſus, and the old frigate were daſhed to pieces. The veſſels loſt were a barge, ſunk in the haven, for the purpoſe of injuring the enemy; another barge caſt away, during a tempeſt at the Bermudas; the Pegaſus, and the old frigate, the firſt of which was wrecked on the Goodwin ſands, and the laſt, at Uſhant. In return for theſe muſt be reckoned the few ſhips which were taken during the courſe of the voyage.

We ſhall conclude this relation with the judicious remarks of a naval officer (*c*) who was not only the contemporary, but, on ſome occaſions, the aſſociate of the earl of Cumberland.

" The error, committed in the proſecution of this " voyage, muſt be imputed to my lord himſelf, in " not

(*c*) Sir William Monſon.

" not forecaſting how to prevent the hazard, and fears " that might be impediments to his deſigns; there- " fore, he worthily deſerved blame, to preſent him- " ſelf, and the fleet in the eye of Liſbon, to be there " diſcovered, knowing that the ſecret carriage thereof " gave life and hopes to the action. By a familiar " example of a man that being ſafely ſeated in a " houſe, and in danger of an arreſt, knows that " catchpoles wait to attack him, and yet notwith- " ſtanding will venture abroad, and not ſeek to avoid " them; ſo fared it with the carracks, at that time, " who rather choſe to keep themſelves in the harbour " than venture upon an unavoidable danger.

" If my lord had done well, and providently, his " fleet ſhould have been furniſhed without rumour, " or notice, in ſeveral harbours, in England. The " men that went in them need not have known, or im- " agiued the deſign of their voyage, or that they " ſhould have met, to compoſe a main fleet, until " they were come to the height in which the car- " racks were to ſail, and after that, each captain might " have opened his directions, with a ſpecial caution " not to appear within ſight of the ſhore, for fear of " diſcovery. This way (and no other there was,) " would have lulled the Portugueſe into ſecurity, or at " leaſt, a miſtruſt might have been avoided, until they " had fallen into their hands.

" My lord's other hope, if this had failed, was to " give an attempt with his land-forces, either upon " ſome iſland, or town, that would have yielded him " wealth and riches, being the chief end of his un- " dertaking. After many propoſitions made at coun- " cil, his reſolution was to make an attempt upon " the iſland of Puerto Ricco, in which iſland there was " a town of convenient ſize, and ſtrength, which my " lord,

" lord, not long after, took, and poſſeſſed, with little " loſs of men, on either ſide; becauſe they came to " a compoſition.

" Herein lies my part to except againſt this deſign " of my lord's, as I promiſed in my former relations; " for, whereas all men's actions have a reaſonable " ſhew of likelihood of good to redound to them in " their intended enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive " how a land-attempt upon towns could yield my " lord any profit, or the merchants that adventured " with him; for my lord, by experience, well knew, " having been himſelf at the taking of ſome towns, " that they afforded little wealth to the takers; be- " cauſe riches of value will be either buried, or ſe- " cretly conveyed away; and, for merchandizes of " great bulk, which that poor iſland yielded, it was " only ſome few hides, black ſugar, and ginger, " which would not amount to any great matter, to " countervail the charge of ſo coſtly a voyage.

" Commonly that iſland ſends out two, or three " ſhips, of a reaſonable burthen, to tranſport the ear- " ly commodities that it yields; for although it have " the name of being in the Indies, yet it is a place re- " mote, and unfrequented with traffic, either from " the Indies, or any other place; or, although the iſland " ſhould be ſurprized, at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, as " their commodities were ripe, and ready for tranſ- " portation, yet the value is not to be eſteemed, where " ſo many people that adventured with my lord, were " to look for a dividend, according to their adven- " ture.

" And yet I will not deny, but by accident, this " iſland was made worthy of an attempt upon it, by " the example of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John

" Haw-

" Hawkins, who ſailed thither, on their own account,
" in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and nine-
" ty-five. Their defeat made it the more admired,
" and purchaſed my lord's greater honour, in that he
" carried it with a ſmaller number of men, and leſs
" loſs, than Drake was repulſed with.

" But, becauſe time, and opportunity alter the cir-
" cumſtances of things, therefore, to ſatisfy thoſe
" common, and vulgar people, who judge according to
" events, and not according to reaſon, let us under-
" ſtand the difference, and the cauſe that made the
" difference, betwixt Sir Francis Drake, in the year,
" one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, and
" the earl of Cumberland, in the year, one thouſand,
" five hundred, and ninety-eight.

" Sir Francis Drake was commanded thither by di-
" rections from the queen; not that ſhe expected
" profit, or benefit from the iſland, which ſhe well
" knew, of itſelf, was unworthy of any enterprize;
" but what ſhe did was upon intelligence that ſhe re-
" ceived of a Galleon of plate, which, with the loſs of
" her maſt, was forced into that iſland.

" In the mean time, five frigates were preparing,
" in Spain, to bring home that treaſure; and, in
" them, were eight, or nine hundred ſoldiers, who,
" in their courſe to Puerto Ricco, ſurprized a pinnace
" of Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, that gave intelligence of
" his deſign, as well againſt that place, as Nombre de
" Dios, whither he was bound. By this accident,
" his deſigns were prevented, and the enemy had lei-
" ſure to fortify, ſtrengthen, and man the towns, with
" the ſoldiers brought in the frigates, which made
" Sir Francis Drake ſuddenly, and diſhonourably retire,
" with the loſs of divers gentlemen, and others of
" good

" good quality. The misfortune was ſuppoſed to " haſten the death of Sir John Hawkins, who then " died, after he had ſeen himſelf thus repulſed.

" My lord might as well have conſidered that no " uſe could be made of the ſituation of that iſland, as " of other iſlands of leſs value, and riches, there " might be; as, for inſtance, the Tercera, which, " although the ſoils yield not that plenty, and profit, " which Puerto Ricco doth, yet, by our inhabiting it, " the Spaniards, and Portugueſe would find great an- " noyances, in their return from the Indies, Braſil, " and Guinea, in which ſeas our ſhips would conti- " nually lie, and endeavour to cut them off. On the " contrary, Puerto Ricco is ſeated ſo loneſomely, that " the inhabitants ſcarcely had the ſight of a ſhip, " during the whole year."

This illuſtrious adventurer was honoured, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, with the order of the Garter; a dignity which, during the reign of Elizabeth, was not frequently beſtowed, until it had been merited by ſignal ſervices to the public. He ſurvived the queen, and was much reſpected by her ſucceſſor. On the thirtieth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, the earl of Cumberland expired, at the Savoy, in London; and his remains were afterwards interred at Skipton-Craven, in the county of York (*d*).

(*d*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Camden. — Stow. — Speed. — Holingſhed.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 688.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.—— Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio V. 1. p. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 576, 577.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CAVENDISH, Eſq;

THIS celebrated adventurer is ſuppoſed by a naval hiſtorian (*a*), to have been deſcended from that illuſtrious family, the preſent chief of which is Duke of Devonſhire. He was born at Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, where, in the more youthful part of his life, he poſſeſſed a large eſtate, but afterwards reduced it by thoſe unlimited expences which were neceſſary to ſupport a vain attempt to eclipſe, in gallantry, and magnificence, the nobles who attended on the perſon of Elizabeth. In order to retrieve his circumſtances, he, at the commencement of the war with Spain, availed himſelf of a general permiſſion from the queen, to cruize againſt her enemies, and made the neceſſary preparations for an expedition to the South Seas.

On the twenty-firſt of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, he ſet ſail from Plymouth, with three veſſels; the Deſire, of the burthen

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.

then of one hundred and twenty tons; the Content, of the burthen of ſixty tons; and the Hugh Gallant, of the burthen of forty tons. Theſe were equipped at his own expence, ſupplied with neceſſaries for the ſpace of two years, and manned with one hundred and twenty-three perſons, incluſive of the mariners and ſoldiers, over all of whom, Cavendiſh preſided with the rank of admiral.

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, theſe adventurers arrived at Sierra Leona, where they ravaged a town belonging to the negroes, in revenge for the death of one of their aſſociates, who had been wounded with an envenomed arrow. From hence, they departed, on the ſixth of September, and arrived, ſoon afterwards, at one of the iſlands of Cape de Verd.

On the thirty-firſt of October, as they were ſailing weſt-ſouth-weſt, and, at the diſtance of twenty-four leagues from Cape Trio, in Braſil, they fell in with a lofty mountain, ſituated between two iſlands. On the firſt of November, and, in the ſouthern latitude of twenty-four degrees, they diſembarked, near the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, and the main land, where they conſtructed a pinnace, and repaired their veſſels. Having remained there until the twenty-third, they ſet ſail, and, on the twenty-ſixth, reached the coaſt of America, in the ſouthern latitude of forty-ſeven degrees, from whence they ran along the ſhore, a degree farther. On the twenty-ſeventh, they entered a haven, to which the admiral gave the name of Port Deſire. Here they careened their ſhips, unmoleſted by the natives, who appeared uncultivated ſavages, and were of gigantic ſtature.

On the twenty-eighth of December, they departed from Port Deſire, and ſoon afterwards (*b*) paſſed near a large

(*b*) December 30th.

large rock, ſituated at the diſtance of five leagues from the land. On the ſecond of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, they reached a great cape, and, on the day following, fell in with a ſecond, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees, and forty-five minutes. From hence, a long beach ran, nearly a league to the ſouthward, extending to the mouth of the Magellanic ſtreight. As the weather was unfavourable, they remained at this place, until the ſixth of January, and during the violence of a tempeſt, were ſo unfortunate as to loſe an anchor.

Having entered the ſtreights, they received on board a Spaniard, whoſe aſſociates (twenty men, and two women,) were the only ſurvivors of four hundred perſons, who, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-nine, had been ſent thither by Philip, the ſecond, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a colony. On the ſeventh, they paſſed by the hull of a ſmall bark, and were informed by the Spaniard, that it had been left there by Sir Francis Drake. On the eighth, they caſt anchor near the iſland of Penguin, where they killed, and ſalted a large quantity of thoſe birds, in alluſion to the numerous flocks of which, the place was named. On the ninth, they departed from this iſland, and ſailed ſouth-ſouth-weſt to Philip's-Town, which had been erected by the Spaniards. Here, in a ſubterraneous cavern, they diſcerned four caſt guns, which had been buried by the inhabitants, who, during the ſpace of two years, had languiſhed miſerably under the want of many of the chief neceſſaries of exiſtence. Previous to their departure, the Engliſh named the place Port Famine.

On the fourteenth, they entered within a large bay, and called it Muſcle-cove, on account of the quanti-

ties of that ſhell-fiſh which were diſcovered on the ſhore. On the twenty-firſt, they ſailed from thence, and paſſed into another bay, which was, immediately, named after their ſovereign, Elizabeth.

At the diſtance of two leagues from the bay, they diſcovered a fine river, the banks of which were inhabited by cannibals, who had devoured numbers of the Spaniards. The Engliſh not only ſaw, but ſpoke with theſe inhuman wretches, againſt ſeveral of whom they diſcharged their muſquets, when they perceived that their intentions were ſanguinary, whilſt under the ſhew of peace, they would have perſuaded them to venture up the river. From hence, the ſhips proceeded to the channel of Saint Jerome, at the diſtance of two leagues, and, next entered a harbour, where they were detained by contrary winds, violent tempeſts, and immoderate ſhowers, until the twenty-third of February. On the day following, the Engliſh ſailed into the South-ſea.

On the firſt of March, the Hugh-Gallant was ſeparated from the fleet, during the violence of a ſtorm, and, having ſprung a leak, was, with difficulty preſerved, by the inceſſant labour of the mariners, from plunging to the bottom. On the fifteenth, ſhe joined the Deſire, and the Content, between the iſland of Saint Mary, and the continent of Chili. Theſe laſt ſhips had, in the mean time, touched at the iſland of La Mocha, which lies in thirty-eight degrees of ſouthern latitude. Here, ſeveral of the Engliſh diſembarked, and were hoſpitably entertained by the Indians, natives of the iſland of Aranco. Theſe people were poſſeſſed of mines of gold, and had not yet ſubmitted to the dominion of the Spaniards.

On the ſixteenth, the admiral, attended by ſeventy of his men, landed on the iſland of Saint Mary, and

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was met by two Indian chiefs, who, miſtaking the whole company for Spaniards, to whoſe authority they had been long accuſtomed to pay a ſervile deference, conducted them to a chapel, around which were ſtore-houſes intirely filled with wheat, and barley. Of theſe, the Engliſh took a large quantity, and, at the ſame time, procured a ſupply of hogs, hens, potatoes, Guinea wheat, and five hundred dried dog-fiſhes. The admiral invited the two Indians to an entertainment on board of the Deſire; and, here, when they were elevated with wine, and had diſcovered that they were not amongſt the Spaniards, they ventured to ſpeak of mines of gold, and aſſured the admiral that if he, and his companions, would croſs the country, they ſhould be aſſiſted in procuring a treaſure equal to their moſt ſanguine wiſhes. Cavendiſh returned them thanks for ſo liberal an offer, yet could not be perſuaded to embrace it.

On the eighteenth, the Engliſh ſailed from this place, and after a ſhort paſſage, caſt anchor under the iſland of Conception. On the thirtieth, they entered the bay of Quintero, in the ſouthern latitude of thirty-three degrees, and fifty minutes. Fifty men, well armed, were ordered, by the admiral, to diſembark immediately, and to proceed ſome miles towards the inland parts of the country. On their march they ſaw vaſt herds of cattle, and paſſed near the rivers which abounded with quantities of fiſh. The Spaniards had ſent out a party of two hundred horſe, for the purpoſe of intercepting, and vanquiſhing the Engliſh; yet, although the former were ſuperior in numbers, and better prepared for action, they ſeemed afraid of venturing within gun-ſhot of their invaders, and ſuffered them to return unreſiſted to their ſhips. On the following day, they were leſs irreſolute. Two hundred

horſemen ruſhed forward from the mountains, and, attacking a ſmall party of the Engliſh, who were on ſhore, engaged in repleniſhing their caſks with water, killed two, and made three their priſoners. Scarcely had the engagement been concluded, when fifteen men diſembarked from the boat belonging to the Hugh-Gallant, and, joining their aſſociates, began a furious attack, at the cloſe of which they were victorious, reſcuing the priſoners, and deſtroying twenty-four of their opponents. Twelve fell on the ſide of the Engliſh, who now became a terror to the Spaniards, and were no longer interrupted in their proceedings.

On the fifth, the admiral left the bay of Quintero, and, in ten days from his departure, arrived at Moro Moreno, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees. On the third of the following month (*c*), they entered within a bay, and diſcovered the ſmall towns of Paracca, Chincha, and Piſca, the laſt of which lies in thirteen degrees, and thirty minutes, of ſouthern latitude. Here, the Engliſh diſembarked, and procured a ſupply of various proviſions. They likewiſe ſeized two ſhips, one of which was ſo richly freighted as to be valued at twenty thouſand pounds, ſterling. Having ſecured the cargoes, they ſet fire to the veſſels, and permitted the crews to proceed, unmoleſted, to the town. Concerning the natives of this region, the admiral hath left the following deſcription.

" They ſtand in great awe of the Spaniards, are very " ſimple people, and live like ſavages. They brought " us to their abodes ſituated nearly two miles from " the harbour, and ſhewed us their women, and their " mode of lodging. On the ground, is laid the ſkin " of ſome wild beaſt; above it, and placed acroſs, are " five, or ſix ſtakes, which reſt on the tops of pieces " of

(*c*) May 1587.

"of wood that are driven deeply into the ground. "the whole is fenced about with boughs. Their diet "is raw fish, which stinks most intolerably. At their "decease, these savages are buried with their bows, "arrows, canoes, and all their property. We opened "one of the graves, and saw the order in which they "lay."

On the twenty-sixth, the English reached the road of Paita, and immediately attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to ashes. They likewise set fire to a bark, which was at anchor within the harbour. After the commission of these hostilities, they pursued the inhabitants to the mountains, where they seized their baggage, and every valuable article, amongst which were twenty-five pounds weight of rials of plate, all kinds of merchandize, household-goods, and apparel.

On the twenty fifth of May, they arrived at the isle of Puna, situated in three degrees of southern latitude, and famous for the manufactories of cables. Having attacked, and sunk a large ship, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, which lay at anchor within the port, they immediately disembarked, and obtained intelligence that the Cacique, or lord of the island was an Indian, who had espoused a Spanish woman, was converted to christianity, and lived in great splendor. As the greatest part of his property, estimated at an hundred thousand crowns, was concealed within the subterraneous cavern of a small island adjoining to Puna, the admiral, and his associates repaired thither, discovered the treasure, and conveyed it to their ships, yet not until, at their return, they had seized the bells within the church, and reduced the edifice to ashes.

On the ſecond of June, the Spaniards aſſembled in arms, and appeared determined to take vengeance for the injuries which they had received. At noon, a deſperate engagement was commenced, during which twelve of the Engliſh were either killed, wounded, or taken Priſoners, and forty-ſix of the Spaniards fell in the field of battle. Towards the evening, ſeventy men landed from the Content, and the Hugh-Gallant. They were attacked by an armed multitude, conſiſting of an hundred Spaniards, and two hundred Indians, whom, after a ſhort reſiſtance, they intirely defeated. They next ſet fire to four large veſſels on the ſtocks, and, having demoliſhed the town, in which were three hundred houſes, retired unmoleſted, to their ſhips. The loſs of men on the ſide of the Engliſh was, notwithſtanding, ſo ſeverely felt, that the admiral gave orders that the Hugh-Gallant, the bark, of the burthen of forty tons, ſhould be directly ſunk.

On the fifth, the Engliſh left Puna, and having watered at Rio Dulce, paſſed the line, on the twelfth, and, during the remainder of the month, directed their courſe, northwards. On the firſt of July, they deſcried New-Spain, at the diſtance of four leagues. On the ninth, they intercepted, and took a new ſhip, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons. Having ſecured the crew, and one Michael Sancius, an experienced pilot, and accuſtomed to voyages in the South ſeas, they ſet fire to the ſhip. On the twenty-ſixth, and nearly a fortnight after they had taken another bark, they caſt anchor in the river of Copalita, ſituated in ſixteen degrees of north latitude. At night, thirty of the Engliſh rowed in the pinnace to Aguatulco, where they made a deſcent, and burned the town, and cuſtom-houſe, in the laſt of which were

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ſix hundred bags of indigo, and four hundred of cocoa, valued together at twenty-eight thouſand crowns.

On the twenty-ſeventh, the ſhips ſailed from the river of Copalita, and reached Aguatulco, on the following night. At day-break, the admiral diſembarked, attended by thirty men, who ſeized an officer of the cuſtoms, as he was paſſing through the woods, with a load of merchandize, and not only forced him to reſign it, but ſent him a priſoner to their aſſociates.

On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, a party of the Engliſh, who had been led by the informations of Sancius to expect a valuable acquiſition, proceeded to Puerto de Natividad, and were mortified by the diſcovery that the veſſels of which they were in ſearch had juſt departed. They, notwithſtanding, reduced the town to aſhes, and deſtroyed two ſhips, each of the burthen of two hundred tons.

On the twenty-ſixth, they arrived at the bay of Saint Jago, where they dragged for, and obtained a quantity of pearls. The admiral, and a part of his aſſociates engaged, until the fourth of November, in the reduction, and demolition of ſeveral ſmall towns, whilſt the Deſire, and the Content, cruized near the head-land of California. At this period, a mariner deſcried a ſhip from the main-top-maſt, when the admiral diſplayed the ſignal for chacing, and, crouding every ſail, kept on his courſe. At the expiration of three hours, he came up with her, and diſcovered that ſhe was the Saint Ann, the largeſt ſhip in all the South Seas, of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons, and on her paſſage from the Philippines, to Acapulco, in New-Spain. When the Engliſh had fired the firſt broad-ſide, the enemy began a furious cannonading, and the battle laſted during five hours, at the cloſe of which a flag of truce was hoiſted on board of the

Saint Ann, and the commander offered to yield up the ſhip, and cargo, on condition that the crew, together with himſelf, ſhould not be put to death. This propoſal was complied with, and the conquerors took poſſeſſion of their prize, in which were one hundred, and twenty-two thouſand pieces of gold, (each valued at eight ſhillings,) rich ſilks, ſattins, damaſk, muſk, and various kinds of valuable merchandize, and proviſions. All the Spaniards, in number, one hundred, and fifty, including women, were left (*d*) aſhore near the harbour of Puerto Seguro, after having been ſupplied with all neceſſaries, a quantity of wine, the ſails of their ſhip, and ſome planks for the purpoſe of conſtructing huts.

On the nineteenth, having ſet fire to the Saint Ann, on board of which five hundred tons of goods were ſtill remaining, they proceeded on their return to England. The Content was ſoon outſailed, and the Deſire directed her courſe ſingly to the Ladrones, and, on the third of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, approached Guiana, in the latitude of thirteen degrees, and forty minutes. At this place, they were ſurrounded by thirty canoes, full of ſavages, who, in exchange for ſome of the leaſt valuable commodities of Europe, gave them cocoas, plantains, potatoes, and freſh fiſh. On the fourteenth, they arrived at a head-land of one of the Philippines, called Cabo del Spirito Santo. On the fifteenth they reached the iſle of Capul, and, having caſt anchor, trafficked with the ſeven Caciques, or chiefs of the place. Here, they remained during nine days, and were well ſupplied with freſh victuals, wood, and water. At this place, alſo, the Spaniſh pilot of the Saint Ann was executed on a gibbet erected for the pur-

(*d*) November 6, 1587.

purpoſe. He had been detected in an attempt to betray the Engliſh into the hands of the Spaniards; and his guilt was confirmed partly by the depoſition of a Portugueſe, his friend, and, partly, by paſſages from letters diſcovered in his trunk. At Capul, the admiral exacted a tribute of proviſions from the Caciques of this, and an hundred other iſlands; but, ſoon afterwards, returned the value of it, when theſe chiefs declared that they would, on all occaſions, aſſiſt him to oppoſe the Spaniards.

On the twenty-fourth, the Engliſh ſet ſail, and paſſed the ſtreight between Panama, and Negro Iſland. On the eighth of February, they came in ſight of Batochina; and, on the fourteenth, fell in with eleven ſmall iſlands, adjoining to the Moluccos. On the firſt of March, having paſſed the ſtreights of Java Major, and Minor, they caſt anchor near the ſouth-weſtern extremity of the former, and, on the twelfth, engaged in traffic with the inhabitants, who came along ſide of the ſhip, in canoes, laden with proviſions. After having remained here, during a fortnight, they proceeded towards the Cape of Good Hope, and reached it on the ſixteenth of May. From thence, they directed their courſe for Saint Helena, and arrived there on the ninth of June. When they were ſupplied with neceſſaries, they ſet ſail for England (*e*). On the twentieth of Auguſt, they came in ſight of the iſle of Flores, and, continuing their voyage, arrived at Plymouth, on the ninth of September, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, having ſailed intirely round the globe, and brought home what, in that age, was conſidered as an amazing fortune.

The following is a copy of the letter which was written by Cavendiſh to the lord Hunſdon, on the day of his return.

Right

(*e*) June 20, 1588.

Right Honourable, &c.

" As your favours heretofore have been moſt great-
" ly extended towards me, ſo I humbly deſire a conti-
" nuance thereof; and although there be nothing in
" me to deſerve it, yet the utmoſt of my ſervices ſhall
" not be wanting, whenever it ſhall pleaſe your ho-
" nour, to acquaint her majeſty with the intention
" I had to ſerve her, in the performance of this voy-
" age; and, as it has pleaſed GOD to give her the vic-
" tory over part of her enemies, ſo I hope ere long to
" ſee her overthrow them all. The places of their
" wealth, whereby they maintained, and made their
" wars, are now perfectly diſcovered; and, if it
" pleaſe her majeſty, with a very ſmall power, ſhe
" may take the ſpoil of them all. It hath pleaſed
" the ALMIGHTY to ſuffer me to circumnavigate the
" whole globe of the world; entering in at the
" ſtreight of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of
" Good Hope. In which voyage, I have either diſco-
" vered, or brought certain intelligence of all the rich
" places of the world, that ever were known, or diſ-
" covered by any Chriſtian. I navigated along the
" coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Eſpana, where I
" made great ſpoils. I burned, and ſunk nineteen ſail
" of ſhips, ſmall, and great. All the villages, and
" towns that ever I landed at, I burned, and ſpoiled;
" and had I not been diſcovered upon the coaſt, I had
" taken great quantities of treaſure. The moſt profit-
" able prize to me was a great ſhip of the king's,
" which I took at California, coming from the Philip-
" pines, being one of the richeſt of merchandize, that
" ever paſſed thoſe ſeas, as it appeared by the king's
" regiſter, and the merchants accounts; for, it a-
" mounted to the value of *****, to be ſold in Mexi-
" co.

"co. Which goods (my ships being able to con-
"tain but a very small part of them) I was obliged
"to set on fire. From the cape of California, which
"is the uttermost part of Nueva Espana, I navigated
"to the islands of the Philippines, bordering upon the
"coasts of China; of which country I have brought
"such intelligence, as hath not yet been heared of in
"these parts. The statelinesss, and riches of which
"country, I fear to make report of, lest I should not
"be credited; for, if I had not sufficiently known the
"incomparable wealth of that country, I should have
"been as incredulous thereof, as others will be that
"have not had the like experience. I sailed along the
"islands of the Moluccos, where I was civilly enter-
"tained by some of the Heathen-people; and where
"our country-men may trade as freely as the Portu-
"gueſe, if they will. From thence, I passed by the
"cape of Good Hope, and found out, in the way
"homeward, the island of St. Helena, where the Por-
"tugueſe are used to refresh themselves; and from
"that island GOD hath suffered me to return to Eng-
"land. All which services, with myself, I humbly
"prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the AL-
"MIGHTY long to continue her reign among Us; for
"at this day, she is the most famous, and most victo-
"rious of sovereigns, &c."

Such, observes a naval writer, (*f*), was the harmony between the sovereign, and the subject. The one offered his all, and the other accepted of no more than what the absolute exigencies of the state required (*g*).

A love

(*f*) Lediard's naval history.

(*g*) The particulars relating to this voyage are taken from Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Camden's Annals, p. 552.—Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p. 57.

A love of pleaſure, and magnificence, was ſtill the prevailing paſſion of this illuſtrious adventurer, and, notwithſtanding that his acquiſitions, during the firſt expedition, were eſtimated at ſixty thouſand pounds, he was obliged to undertake a ſecond, that he might relieve the wants to which extravagance had reduced him. Accordingly, with a ſmall fleet (*h*), he departed from Plymouth, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, and proceeded, without being engaged in any material occurrence, to the equinoctial line, under which the ſhips were becalmed, for the ſpace of twenty-ſeven days, and numbers amongſt the crews became enfeebled by thoſe diſorders which are natural to the climate.

On the twenty-ſecond of September, the wind blew favourably from the north-weſt, when the Engliſh renewed their courſe, and, on the twenty-ninth of November, came in ſight of the Brazils. They were, notwithſtanding, ignorant of their ſituation, until approaching nearer to the ſhore (*i*), they took a ſmall veſſel freighted with ſugar, various articles of merchandize, and negroes. From the pilot of this prize, they learned that the adjacent land was Cape Frio, ten leagues diſtant from the river of Janeiro, and thirty from

57.—Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſt. lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 24.—Introduction to the Coll. of Voyages, 6 vols. folio.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 1. p. 571, 572.—and Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio. p. 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234.

(*h*) It conſiſted of the Leiceſter galleon, commanded by Cavendiſh, with the rank of admiral; the Roebuck, (vice-admiral ſhip,) commanded by captain Cock; the Deſire, (rear-admiral ſhip,) commanded by captain Davis; the Dainty, commanded by captain Randolph Cotton; and the Black pinnace.

(*i*) December 2d.

from Santos, the place which they had already determined to attack.

Under the conduct of their new pilot, they sailed to Ilha Grande, twelve leagues distant from Santos, where they disembarked, and procured various refreshments.

At this period, the adventurers were perpetually engaged in violent altercations, and Cavendish, who wished to divert their attention from proceedings at once so alarming, and inexcusable, judged it necessary to accelerate his preparations for the attack of Santos. He now sailed towards the island of Placentia, at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward of Cape Frio, and, arriving there on the fifth of December, plundered the houses inhabited by the Portuguese. Having continued at this place until the eleventh, he renewed his course, and, on the fourteenth, reached the island of Saint Sebastian. It was now determined to attack the town of Santos, and, as the Portuguese pilot had observed that the place was scarcely defensible, the English concluded that if an hundred men well armed were to proceed to the scene of action, there could be no doubt of their success. A violent altercation now ensued. All insisted that they had a right to be intrusted with the execution of the enterprize, and declared their resolution to be revenged on those who should endeavour to exclude them. Even the authority of the admiral was insufficient either to appease their quarrels, or determine concerning any of the measures which it might be necessary to pursue. How painful the situation of Cavendish must have been, at this period, may be gathered from his own remarks. "Here we had such disorder amongst ourselves, that "if the Portuguese had been of any courage, they "might have killed many of us. Our men would "fight

" fight for their victuals, as if they had been no " Chriſtians, but Jews; and they that got the beſt, " would go into ſome hole, or into the wilderneſs, " under ſome tree, and there continue as long as they " had meat. For mine own part, there was ſuch a " ſharking that I could, in that place, get neither meat, " nor money."

It appears from the teſtimony of one hiſtorion (*k*), that the captains Cock, and Davis, departed with the Deſire, and the Black Pinnace, from the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, and that the admiral did not follow until after the expiration of ten days: another writer obſerves (*l*) that the adventurers on this ſervice had the good fortune to ſucceed, nor did they deviate from their inſtructions. They diſembarked whilſt the Portugueſe were engaged in the celebration of the high maſs, and ſurrounded the church, in which were three hundred perſons, excluſive of women, and children. Theſe were taken priſoners, and (what appears extraordinary,) by a party conſiſting only of thirty-four Engliſhmen. In the mean time, the townſmen who were not at their devotion, ſecured their effects and fled into the country. All the priſoners, except ſeven of the chief citizens, were ſet at liberty by the admiral.

Amongſt the articles of plunder were ſugar, Caſſavi meal, and great quantities of gold, and ſilver. The natives not only appeared rejoiced at the reduction of the place, but intreated Cavendiſh to keep poſſeſſion of it, declaring that they would arm in his defence. As a teſtimony of the ſincerity of their profeſſions, they made a diſcovery of the concealment of three large bags of money, and conducted the Engliſh to a ſpot from whence they carried off three hundred head

(*k*) Hackluyt. (*l*) Harris.

head of cattle, which lasted the whole fleet, during the time that they remained at Santos (*m*).

It is necessary to observe that the foregoing particulars do not agree with the relation of an historian (*n*) who describes the English as having been secure of satisfying all their wants, if the Indians, availing themselves of the criminal inattention of captain Cock, had not carried, even during the public hours of the day, whatsoever articles they chose to fix upon, from the town to their secret retreats within the woods. The same writer adds that the English continued at Santos, until the twenty-second of January, endeavouring, but in vain, to acquire, by intreaties, those treasures of which they were once possessed. At length, driven to such extremities as to be in want of common necessaries, they quitted the town, in which they could only obtain a few baskets of Cassavi meal.

Such are the representations of one historian. Another (*o*) hath informed us that the majority of the adventurers expressed an earnest inclination to remain at Santos, during the whole winter, but that the admiral refused, from just motives, to gratify their wishes. The English did not, however, quit the place, until the expiration of two months, and it is probable that from this long delay arose the succeeding unfortunate interruptions to the voyage. Previous to their departure, they burned the suburbs, destroyed several of the sugar-mills, between Santos, and Saint Vincent, and set fire to all the ships within the habour (*p*).

On the twenty-fourth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, they sailed towards the streights of Magellan, and, at a short distance from the river Plata, the ships were miserably shattered,

(*m*) Harris. (*n*) Hackluyt. (*o*) Harris. (*p*) Ibid.

ſhattered, and ſeparated by a tempeſt, the violence of which, together with the dangers that attended it, are ſtrikingly deſcribed by Cavendiſh. "This ſtorm, I "thought to be ſuch that worſe could not be endured. "Such was the fury of the weſt, and ſouth-weſt "winds, that we were driven from the ſhore, four "hundred leagues, and conſtrained to beat from fifty "degrees to the ſouthward, into forty degrees to the "northward again, before we could recover near the "ſhore. In which time, we had a new ſhift of ſails, "clean blown away, and our ſhip in danger of ſink-"ing three times, which, with extremity of men's "labour, we recovered. In this weakneſs, we de-"parted from the ſtreights, being from that harbour "eight leagues, and, in eighteen days, we got to the "ſtreights."

On the ſixth of March, the ſeparated ſhips arrived at Port Deſire, which was the appointed rendezvous. Having obtained a freſh ſupply of water, and proviſions, the Engliſh ſailed, on the twentieth, towards the mouth of the ſtreight. Their courſe was much retarded by unfavourable winds, and they were obliged to beat three days off Port Famine, until the expiration of which period, they could not double the cape. At length, they reached the former place, but were becalmed at it, for the ſpace of eight days, during which they were in danger of periſhing under the want of proviſions, and the ſtill greater ſeverities of exceſſive cold (*q*).

Notwithſtanding theſe alarming obſtacles, they entered, on the eighteenth of April, nearly fifty leagues within the ſtreight's mouth. On the fourteenth, they paſſed

(*q*) The feet of one Knivet turned black with the cold, and his toes came off with his ſtockings. Another blowing his noſe with his fingers threw it into the fire.

passed the first streight; on the sixteenth, they sailed through the second; and, on the eighteenth, they doubled Cape Froward. On the twenty-first, they were forced, by the violence of a storm, to enter into a small cove, where they remained until the fifteenth of May. Here, all the unhappy wretches, in the galleon, who languished under sickness, were set on shore, and inhumanly deserted by their associates. The admiral now directed his course for the Brazils; a proceeding intirely contrary to his inclinations, but necessary to appease the mutinous disposition of his crew. It was the design of Cavendish to have sailed to China, and the voyage might easily have been accomplished, if the English had not wasted their time in unbecoming quarrels, previous to their entrance within the Magellanic streight. Another passage was still open to them by the Cape of Good Hope; and thither the admiral would willingly have sailed, but was overruled by the clamour of his company, who insisted that he should return to the Brazils.

On the passage, he was deserted by the Desire, and the Black Pinnace; a misfortune which, in the bitterness of grief, he attributes to captain Davis. "And "now to come to that villain who hath been the death "of me, and the decay of the whole action, I mean "Davis, whose only treachery, in running from me, "hath been an utter ruin to all. As I since under-"stood, it was ever the intention of Davis to run "away. This is the will of God, that I should put "him in trust; that it should be the end of my "life, and the decay of the whole action. For had "not these two small ships parted from us, we should "not have miscarried on the coast of Brazil; for the "only decay of us was that we could not get into "their barred harbours. In short, the whole amounts

" to this; the ſole intent of Davis was to overthrow " me."

The admiral was now left with only one ſhip, the Roebuck having been ſeparated from him, during the violence of a ſtorm. With difficulty, he reached the coaſt of Brazil, and caſt anchor in the bay of Saint Vincent. Here, more than twenty of the crew landed, under the command of captain Barker, and proceeded in ſearch of plunder. Venturing, imprudently, beyond the limits to which the admiral had endeavoured to confine them, and remaining on ſhore, during two days, and nights, engaged in feaſting, and debauchery, they were watched by the Portugueſe, eighty of whom, aſſiſted by three hundred Indians, ruſhed upon them, whilſt they were too intoxicated to make the leaſt defence, and, having ſeized the boat, put every Engliſhman to the ſword.

The increaſed diſtreſſes of the admiral might, at this period, have proved fatal if he had not fortunately procured an old boat belonging to the Portugueſe, and, if the Roebuck, from which he was ſeparated in the ſtorm, had not ſailed into the ſame bay, although much injured by the violence of the weather. Notwithſtanding that the ſhips were now almoſt defenceleſs, the admiral reſolved to engage in ſome enterprize, not only with a view of avenging the maſſacre of his aſſociates, but in order to repair his loſſes.

His firſt deſign was againſt the town of Saint Vincent; but the attempt failed becauſe the ſhips were too large to paſs over the ſhoals. Yielding to the advice of the Portugueſe pilot, he prepared to attack Spirito Santo; but there, alſo the enterprize proved unſucceſsful, as the water was not ſufficiently deep to take the veſſels over the bar. At a ſmall diſtance from the town, three ſhips were anchored; and, leſt they ſhound

ſhould remove to a ſecurer ſtation, the admiral propoſed that he and his aſſociates ſhould, in their boats, ſurround, and take them. He was anſwered by the majority that it was abſolutely neceſſary to defer the enterprize, until the next morning. With reluctance, he conſented, and, when that time approached, had the mortification to perceive that the enemy had ſhifted their ſituation to one where it was impoſſible to annoy them. Now that Cavendiſh would have waved the attack, his companions declared that it ought immediately to be commenced. As his authority was conſiderably weakened, he yielded, but with pain, to the neceſſities of engaging in the attempt. The two damaged boats were crouded with muſqueteers, who proceeded to the place of action, under the command of captain Morgan. If the greateſt intrepidity could have ſecured ſucceſs, they muſt have proved victorious; but in ſo powerful a poſture of defence were the Portugueſe, that all endeavours to annoy them proved equally dangerous, and unavailing. Morgan, and numbers of his men were killed; and of thoſe who returned on board, all, except eight, were deſperately wounded, their bodies being, in ſeveral parts, tranſfixed with arrows.

Notwithſtanding that the few Engliſh who ſurvived were ſcarcely capable of navigating the veſſels, the admiral proceeded to the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, in the bay of which captain Davis, and the crew of the Roebuck, deſerted him, and in this ſhip, ſtood out to ſea. As he hath drawn the picture of his ſufferings, we here preſent it to the reader. "They inſtantly de-
"ſired nothing more than to return home; but, in
"truth, it was not of any care of the Roebuck, but
"only of a moſt cowardly mind of the maſter, and

" the chiefeſt of the company. Now, you ſhall un-
" derſtand that the captain was very ſick; and that
" ſince the time that the ſhip loſt her maſt, ſhe be-
" came the moſt labourſome ſhip that ever did ſwim
" in the ſea, ſo that he was not able to endure in her;
" and, at that preſent, he lay on board of my ſhip, ſo
" as there was none of any truſt, or account left in
" her. But, ſuch was the caſe of that ſhip, being
" without ſails, maſts, or any manner of tackle, as,
" in the ſenſe, or judgment of any man exiſting, there
" did not live that deſperate perſon in the world, who,
" in that caſe in which ſhe then was would have ven-
" tured to have ſailed in her half ſo far as England.
" Theſe villains having left in my ſhip all their hurt
" men, and having on board of their ſhip, both my
" ſurgeons, I not having one in my own ſhip who
" knew how to lay a plaſter to a wound, much leſs to
" cure any by ſalves; and farther, having in their
" ſhip, three times the proportion of my victuals;
" as having with them, at their departure, but ſix,
" and forty men, and carrying with them the propor-
" tion for ſix months victuals of one hundred, and
" twenty men, at large, I leave you to conſider of
" this part of theirs, and the miſerable caſe in which I
" was left."

When the admiral, and his aſſociates arrived at the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, they repleniſhed their caſks with water; an article that was almoſt expended. Having conſtructed two new boats, and being furniſhed with a ſmall quantity of proviſions, Cavendiſh, regardleſs of the indignities which he had received from his aſſociates, and ſtill eager for the accompliſhment of his earlieſt project, intreated them to conſent that he ſhould return to the ſtreights of Magellan. They obſtinately

ſtinately refuſed to comply with this requeſt, and it is ſuppoſed that this unfortunate adventurer expired ſoon afterwards, a martyr to the grief ariſing from the treachery of his aſſociates, and the diſappointment of his hopes.

Concerning the means through which the letters, and laſt teſtament of Cavendiſh were forwarded to his executor, Sir Triſtram Gorges, our hiſtorians are ſilent; and it can only be aſcertained that when he arrived within eight degrees to the northward of the line, he ſent his friend ſome written papers, of which the following is an extract.

"My loving friend! there is nothing in this world "that makes a truer trial of friendſhip, than at death "to ſhew mindfulneſs of love, and friendſhip, which "now you ſhall make a perfect experience of, deſiring "you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I "had been moſt infinitely rich. As to the ſucceſs of this "unfortunate action, the bitter thereof lies ſo heavy "upon me, that with much pain, am I able to write "theſe few lines, much leſs to make diſcovery unto "you of all the adverſe hopes that have befallen me "in this voyage, the leaſt whereof is my death.— "But, now I am grown ſo weak and faint, that I am "ſcarcely able to hold the pen in my hand; wherefore "I muſt leave you to inquire of the reſt concerning "our unhappy proceedings.—And now, by this, what "with grief for the death of my couſin, John Lock, "and the continual trouble which I endured amongſt "ſuch hell-hounds, my ſpirits were clean ſpent, "wiſhing myſelf upon any deſert place in the world, "there to die, rather than thus baſely to return home "again, the which courſe I had put in execution, had "I found an iſland, which the charts make to be in

"eighty degrees to the ſouthward of the line. I "ſwear to you that I ſought it with all diligence, "meaning, if I had found it, to have there ended my "unfortunate life. But GOD ſuffered not ſuch hap- "pineſs to light upon me, for, I could by no means "find it, ſo that I was forced to go towards England; "and, after having gotten eight degrees north of the "line, I loſt my deareſt couſin.—Bear with this "ſcribbling, for I proteſt that I am ſcarcely able to "hold a pen in my hand."

Such was the laſt adventure of this gallant ſeaman, whoſe life ſeems to have been equally checquered by the brilliancy of ſucceſs, and the ſeverity of misfortune. At his return from his firſt expedition, he was received in triumph; his ſoldiers, and mariners were clad in ſilk; his ſails were compoſed of damaſk; and every top-maſt was covered with cloth of gold. So extenſive alſo were his acquiſitions that the produce of one prize alone was valued at forty thouſand pounds. His ſecond expedition diſcovered a melancholy reverſe of fortune, and was marked by a ſeries of calamities which terminated only with his life (*r*).

Previous to the concluſion of theſe memoirs, it may be neceſſary, that in juſtice to the memory of captain Davis, and his adherents, we ſhould inſert a material extract from their vindication, which was drawn up at Port

(*r*) The particulars of this voyage are taken from Camden, p. 552.—Stowe, p. 808.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 57.—Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſt. Lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 695.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 571, 572.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 282, 283, 284.

Port Desire, and signed by forty persons, including officers, and mariners.

"So, we departed the streight, on the fifteenth of "May. On the twenty-first, being athwart of Port "Desire, thirty leagues off the shore, the wind being "then at north-east, and by north, at five of the "clock, at night, lying north-east, we suddenly "cast about, lying south-east, and by south, and "sometimes south-east, the whole fleet following the "admiral, our ship (the Desire) coming under his "lee, shot a-head of him, and so framed sail fit to "keep company. During this night, we were se-"parated, but by what occasion we protest that we "know not; nor whether we lost them, or they "us. In the morning, we only saw the Black Pin-"nace, then supposing that the admiral had overshot us. "All this day, we stood to the eastward, hoping to "find him, because it was not likely that he should "stand to the shore again so suddenly. But missing "him, towards night, we stood to the shore-ward, "hoping, by that course, to find him. On the twen-"ty-second of May, at night, we had a violent "storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were "forced to hull, not being able to bear sail; and, this "night, we perished our main trestle-trees, so that "we could no longer use our main-top-sail, lying "most dangerously in the sea. The pinnace likewise "received a great leak, so that we were forced to seek "the next shore, for her relief. And, because fa-"mine was like to be the best end, we were willing to "go for Port Desire, hoping with seals, and penguins "to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the "general, or there to wait his coming from Brazil. "On the four and twentieth of May, we had much

" wind at north. During the five and twentieth, it " was calm, and the ſea was very lofty, ſo that our " ſhip had dangerous foul weather. On the ſix and " twentieth, our fore-ſhrouds broke, ſo that if we " had not been near the ſhore, it had been impoſſible " for us to get out of the ſea. And now being here " moored at Port Deſire, our ſhrouds are all rotten, not " having a running rope in which we can put any " truſt, and being provided with only one ſhift of " ſails, all worn, our top-ſails not able to abide any " ſtreſs of weather, neither have we any pitch, tar, " or nails, nor any ſtore for the ſupplying of theſe " wants; and we live only upon ſeals, and muſſels, " having but five hogſheads of pork, on board, and of " meal, three ounces for a man, a day, with water " to drink. And, foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed GOD " to ſeparate our fleet, and to bring us into ſuch hard " extremities, that only now, by his mere mercy, " we expect relief, although otherwiſe we are hope- " leſs of comfort, yet becauſe the wonderful works " of GOD, in his exceeding great favour towards us, " his creatures, are far beyond the ſcope of man's ca- " pacity, therefore, by HIM we hope to have deli- " verance in this our deep diſtreſs. Alſo, foraſmuch " as thoſe upon whom GOD will beſtow the favour of " life, with return home to their country, may not " only themſelves remain blameleſs, but alſo manifeſt " the truth of our actions, we have thought good, in " Chriſtian charity, to lay down, under our hands, the " truth of all our proceedings, even until the time of " this our diſtreſs. Given as above."

To this declaration is ſubjoined an account of their adventures on the ocean, after their ſeparation from Cavendiſh. Hence, it appears that after having thrice

paſſed

paſſed the ſtreights of Magellan, and entered the ſouth ſea, they were a fourth time driven back by unfavourable winds, and furious ſtorms. After the moſt afflicting trials of adverſity, ſixteen perſons, the whole number of ſurvivors, amongſt whom only five were capable of navigating the veſſels, reached Bear-Haven, in Ireland, on the eleventh of June, in the Year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir MARTIN FROBISHER.

CONCERNING thoſe occurrences in which this celebrated adventurer (a native of Doncaſter,) was engaged during the earlier part of his life, we have no account. His parents, who lived in a ſtate of humble obſcurity, endeavoured with a part of the little property which they poſſeſſed, to breed him to the ſea; an element on which he afterwards acquired ſuch exalted fame that the meanneſs of his birth, and the deficiencies of his education, were never mentioned by his contemporaries but as impediments, to which his enterprizing genius, aſſiſted by the love of public virtue, could riſe ſuperior (*a*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred and ſeventy-ſix, the merchants of the port of London, deſirous that a diſcovery might be made of a nearer north-weſt

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 568.

weſt paſſage to Tartary, and China, than the courſe on which the Portugueſe proceeded by the cape of Good Hope, fitted out two barks, the Gabriel, and the Michael, together with a pinnace, of the burthen of ten tons; and gave the chief command of this ſmall ſquadron to Frobiſher, under whom, as firſt Captain, was Matthew Kinderſley.

On the ſixteenth of June, theſe adventurers ſet ſail from Graveſend, and, after having proceeded towards the north of Scotland, came, on the twenty-eighth of July, into ſixty-two degrees of latitude, diſcovering land, ſurrounded by ſhoals of ice, and which, they ſuppoſed, was the continent, of America, called Sierra de Labrador. As there was no anchor-ground, even near the ſhore, they renewed their courſe, and, on the thirtieth, ſteered eaſt-north-eaſtwards, the current ſetting north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt. Still were they impeded by numerous drifts of ice, nor were they able to approach nearer than within five leagues of land.

On the tenth of Auguſt, they reached a deſart iſland, which was ſituated at the diſtance of a mile from the continent. Here, they diſembarked, and, after a ſhort ſtay, returned on board, and purſued their voyage. On the eleventh, and when they had arrived in the latitude of ſixty-three degrees, and eight minutes, they entered within a ſtreight, and, in compliment to their chief, called it Frobiſher's Streight, a name which it ſtill retains. On the twelfth, they fell in with the iſland of Saint Gabriel, and caſt anchor in a bay, to which they gave the appellation of Prior's Sound. On the ſeventeenth, they reached the iſle of Thomas Williams; and on the eighteenth, having ſailed north-weſt, arrived at Butcher's iſland, which

which is ten leagues diſtant from the former place. Here they landed, and, ſoon afterwards, diſcovered Men, rowing towards them, in ſeven boats (*b*).

Such is the account, which hath been related by an old hiſtorian. From the teſtimony of others, we learn that on the firſt of July, when he had loſt his pinnace, and the Michael had quitted him, in order to return to England, he deſcried the land, but durſt not approach it, leſt the floating mountains of ice might have endangered his veſſel. It is added that, on the twentieth, he diſcovered a place which he called Queen Elizabeth's Fore-Land, and, ſoon afterwards, reached Frobiſher's Streight. Concluding that it was the paſſage between Aſia, and America, he entered it, on the ninth of Auguſt, and, nearly in the latitude of ſixty-three degrees.

Having ſailed up almoſt ſixty leagues, he diſembarked, and was met by a multitude of perſons of both ſexes. The men, who were clad in the ſkins of ſea-calves, had black hair, broad faces, flat noſes, and ſwarthy complexions. The women, who much reſembled the figures of the ancient Britons, had painted their cheeks, and eye-lids, with colours of a deep blue. Frobiſher detained one of theſe ſavages, and brought him, together with his bark, to England (*c*), where he died ſoon after his arrival.

It may be neceſſary to obſerve that one hiſtorian (*d*) hath obſerved that, when ſome of the Engliſh conducted on ſhore a ſavage who had been on board of the veſſel, the natives roſe, and ſeized them, together with the boat. Another writer (*e*) informs us that five of the

(*b*) Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29.

(*c*) This bark, the keel of which was of wood, was covered with ſeal-ſkins.

(*d*) Hackluyt. (*e*) Purchas.

the Engliſh, and their boat, were taken by the ſavages; and that it was poſterior to this event that Frobiſher detained the ſavage who, afterwards, accompanied him to England. A naval hiſtorian (*f*) remarks that theſe accounts, although apparently contradictions, are, notwithſtanding, the reſult of truths. On the nineteenth, a ſavage came on board, and was afterwards, conveyed to land. On the twentieth, another ſavage viſited the ſhip; and, when he was ſet on ſhore, his fellow-natives took poſſeſſion of the boat, and detained the Engliſh who attended him. On the twenty-ſecond, Frobiſher decoyed a third ſavage from his aſſociates, ſecured him, and brought him afterwards to England. Having remained at this place, during two days, engaged in fruitleſs endeavours to recover his men, our adventurer, obſtructed in the continuance of his voyage, by the drifts of ice, departed homewards, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt; deſcried Friezeland, on the firſt of September; and, on the ſecond of October, arrived at Harwich.

We ſhall conclude the particulars of this firſt expedition, by obſerving that Frobiſher took poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of Elizabeth, his ſovereign; and that, in teſtimony of her right, he directed each of his aſſociates to take with him ſome produce of the place. One Engliſhman is mentioned to have brought home a piece of black ſtone, which was accidentally caſt into the fire, and when taken out, glittered like gold. Theſe appearances induced the owner to carry it to a refiner, who, after a trial, diſcovered that it contained a large proportion of that metal (*g*).

On

(*f*) Lediard.

(*g*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Holingſhed.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29. 57.—Harris's Collection,

On the twenty-ſixth of May, in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven, Frobiſher, whoſe employers were ſtill anxious for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, proceeded from Blackwall, with the Aid, (a veſſel belonging to the queen,) the Gabriel, and the Michael, two barks, which were commanded by the captains Fenton and York. On board of the Aid, where Frobiſher acted under the title of general, for Elizabeth, were ſeven officers, a lieutenant, an enſign, a corporal of the ſhot, a maſter, mate, a pilot, and maſter gunner, together with nine gentlemen, twenty ſoldiers, and fifty ſailors. In the Gabriel, were a maſter, one gentleman, ſix ſoldiers, and ten ſailors. The company of the Michael, excluſive of the captain, conſiſted of a maſter, one gentlemen, five ſoldiers, and nine mariners.

On the ſeventh of June, they reached the iſles of Orkney, and, on the fourth of July, arrived at Friezeland. On the ſixteenth, they came to Frobiſher's ſtreight, into which the ſhips were hindered from entering by the ice, and only the pinnaces were rowed to the ſhore. When the crews belonging to theſe had taken a ſavage, they returned, and ſoon afterwards, the veſſels got under ſail. On the nineteenth of July, they entered the ſtreight, and anchored in a bay, to which Frobiſher gave the name of Jackman's Sound. Here, he diſembarked, attended by moſt of his aſſociates, and, after having proceeded far into the country, without making any diſcoveries of importance, he directed that the barks, and boats ſhould be made ready, and, then, coaſted in them both to the eaſt and to the weſt. During this ſhort expedition, he attempted to take

tion, part 1. p. 575.—Introduction to a collection of voyages in ſix volumes, folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 1. 65, 166.

take ſeveral of the natives, but could only ſeize a woman, and her infant.

Whenſoever theſe ſavages were inclined to trade, they placed the articles to be diſpoſed of on the ground, and retired in order to give the Engliſh an opportunity of putting near it ſome commodities for exchange. This they examined at their return, and took it, if they approved of it; but, if otherwiſe, they carried back their firſt depoſit. They informed Frobiſher, by ſigns, that their Catchhoe, or king, was of more gigantic ſtature than any of the Europeans, and that his attendants bore him on their ſhoulders. The Engliſh wiſhed to know what became of their aſſociates whom they had loſt in the preceding year; but all their enquiries proved ineffectual. Having diſcovered their cloaths, they concluded that the ſavages had killed, and devoured them.

On the fourth of Auguſt, they arrived at places which, in compliment to the counteſs of Warwick, they called Ann Warwick's ſound, and Iſland. Here they endeavoured to induce the natives either to give ſome account of themſelves, or to engage in traffic; but ſo ferocious were their diſpoſitions, that they appeared to have no object in view, but the deſtruction of the Engliſh.

It is affirmed, that, at this period, Frobiſher did not ſail above thirty leagues up the ſtreights, nor beyond queen Elizabeth's Foreland. A naval hiſtorian (*h*) hath juſtly obſerved that theſe relations are contradictory, and aſks how it was poſſible that the Engliſh ſhould find at the diſtance of thirty leagues from the ſtreight's mouth, the apparel of their aſſociates, whom they loſt on a ſpot ſituated thirty leagues farther, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the ſavages led them thither, for the purpoſe of murdering them, or at leaſt, according

(*h*) Lediard.

ing to one hiſtorian (*i*), carried their cloaths to that place.

As, in this region, the winter advanced, Frobiſher departed, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, and, after having been ſeparated from the two barks, arrived at Milford-haven, on the twentieth of September. In the ſucceeding month, the Gabriel, and the Michael, reached England, the one entering the port of Briſtol, and the other that of Yarmouth. During the voyage, only two men were loſt, one of which (the maſter of the Gabriel,) was drowned. The veſſels of Frobiſher were laden with a kind of ſhining ſand, intermixed with black ſtones, which, deceived by the information of the refiners, he had concluded to be gold-ore (*k*), (*l*).

(*i*) Hackluyt.

(*k*) Relatively to this ſubject, a celebrated naval writer * makes the following remark: "On this occaſion, I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature "which happened to the mate of a veſſel belonging to the "Greenland company, ſent to make diſcoveries to the "north-weſt. He brought home likewiſe a quantity of "ſhining ſand which he apprehended contained gold: "but, upon trial, it was judged to be of no value, and the "ill uſage which, on account of this ſuppoſed miſtake, "the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years "afterwards, the chancellor of Denmark ſhewed a ſmall "parcel of this kind of ſand, from Norway, to an intelligent chemiſt, the reſt having by his expreſs orders, "been thrown into the ſea;) and this man extracted a "quantity of pure gold out of that ſand †, in which alſo "the Copenhagen artiſt could find none.

* Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.

† La Peyrere relation du Grœnland, a M. de la Mothe de Vayer, p. 67.—Churchill's voyages, (where this is tranſlated,) V. 1. p. 558.—Egede's natural hiſtory of Greenland, Chap. 2. p. 27, 32. Chap. 3. p. 47, 48, 59.

(*l*) The particulars relating to this ſecond expedition are taken from Stowe's annals, p. 680, 681, 685.—Holingſhed,

In this place, it may not be improper to preſent the reader with the obſervations of a foreigner (*m*) concerning the firſt voyage of Frobiſher.

"In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and "ſeventy-ſix, Martin Frobiſher, an Engliſhman, made "the firſt diſcovery of that country which is now "called New-Greenland; he juſt obtained a ſight of it, "but, not being able to reach the ſhore, on account "of the vaſt quantities of ice, and the approaching "winter, he was forced to return home, where he "gave an account of his voyage to Elizabeth, who, "at that period, ſwayed the Sceptre in England."

"This great queen ſent him, in the following "ſpring, with three other ſhips, to purſue the former "deſign, on his ſafe arrival at Greenland. At the ap-"proach of this adventurer, and his aſſociates, the "Inhabitants deſerted their huts, and fled towards the "rocks, from which ſeveral precipitated themſelves "into the ocean."

"After the Engliſh had in vain attempted to induce "theſe ſavages to return, they proceeded to their "Dwellings, which were tents conſtructed with the "ſkins of Sea-calves, and Whales, which were affixed "to ſtrong poles, and ſewed together with the ſinews "of wild beaſts. They were open towards the ſouth, "and weſt, but were cloſely, and dexterouſly joined "together towards the Eaſt, and North, the better to "ſerve as a defence againſt the ſeverity of the winds "which blow from thoſe quarters. Here, the Eng-"liſh

V. 2. p. 1162, 1270, 1271.—Speed, p. 852.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 32, 60.—Collection of voyages, 6 Vols. in folio, V. 1. p. 499.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 166, 167.

(*m*) Captain John Monk's Deſcription of Old, and New Greenland, written originally in the German Language.

"liſh did not meet any living creature, except an old "woman, who was leading a child, which they took "from her, and for the loſs of which ſhe made a "diſmal outcry."

"From thence, they ſailed along the coaſt, near to "which, they obſerved, above the water, the head "of a ſea-monſter, from which a horn projected, al-"moſt four feet in length. Having diſembarked, "they found the ſurface of the earth to be rocky, "but diſcovered a fine mould beneath it. They alſo "perceived a great quantity of ſand, glittering like "gold; and of this they took the weight of three "hundred tons."

"They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to obtain a "conference with the ſavages, who, apparently were "not averſe from it; and gave them to underſtand, "by certain ſigns, that if they would row farther up "the river, their expectations ſhould be ſatisfied. "Accordingly Frobiſher, attended by ſome ſoldiers, "entered within the boat, and, having ordered the "ſhips to follow, paſſed up the river, on the banks of "which, and amongſt the rocks, he perceived num-"bers of the ſavages, waiting for his approach. He "now ordered the men to reſt upon their oars, and "judged it dangerous to venture farther. At length, "three perſons, who ſeemed of a rank ſuperior to the "reſt, advanced beyond their company, and made a "ſignal for him to land. Encouraged by this cour-"teous behaviour, he made towards the ſhore; but, "ſcarcely had his boat touched the bank of the river, "when the ſavages ruſhed forward, in multitudes; a "proceeding ſo alarming that he inſtantly put off in-"to the ſtream. Still the ſavages endeavoured, by "ſigns, to allure them to the ſhore, and as intice-"ments threw towards them ſeveral pieces of raw

" fleſh. Obſerving that the Engliſh were yet miſ-
" truſtful, they attempted to decoy them aſhore
" by a new ſtratagem. All retired out of ſight,
" except one ſavage, who, feigning lameneſs, fell
" down on the bank, and there lay, in order that
" the Engliſh might come, and take him. As this ar-
" tifice was ſuſpected, Frobiſher ordered one of the ma-
" riners to diſcharge a muſquet at him, hearing the
" report of which, he roſe and fled. The ſavages
" now advanced, and annoyed the Engliſh with ſtones,
" and arrows; but were ſoon intimidated by the fir-
" ing of the guns, and haſtily retreated."

" Theſe ſavages are extremely treacherous, and bar-
" barous; nor can they be mollified either by fair
" words, or by preſents. They are ſtrong, and well
" ſet, their complexion is of an olive-colour; and
" their cloaths are made of the ſkins of ſea calves,
" ſewed together with the ſinews of wild beaſts. The
" apparel of the women ſcarcely differs from that of
" the men. They wear breeches, having ſeveral pock-
" ets, in which they carry their knives, needles,
" yarn, and looking-glaſſes, which they did either get
" from ſtrangers, or ſometimes find upon the ſhore.
" Their faces are painted blue, and their hair is ſuf-
" fered to grow extremely long, hanging down diſh-
" evelled over their ſhoulders. Their ſhirts are com-
" poſed of the guts of fiſh, ſewed together with ſi-
" news; their garments are looſe, and only faſtened
" about the middle, by a girdle. They are naturally
" filthy, and ſo indecent that they freely expoſe any
" parts whatſoever of their bodies. All their riches
" conſiſt in their ſlings, bows, arrows, and boats.
" The bows are very ſlender; the arrows taper and
" tipped, at the extremity, either with pointed bone,
" or horn. They manage them with great dexte-
" rity, and ſtrike the fiſhes, as they are ſwimming in

" the

"the water. Their boats are intirely covered with "the ſkins of Sea-calves, and ſo conſtructed as to be "incapable of receiving more than one perſon. Their "larger veſſels are made of wood, covered with the "ſkins of Whales, and are able to contain twenty "men. The ſails are made of the guts of fiſh, "ſewed together with the ſinews of wild beaſts; and "notwithſtanding that there is not the leaſt iron work "about their boats, they are ſo ſtrong, that the ſa-"vages venture in them on the open ſea."

"No venemous creatures are found in theſe parts, "unleſs we reckon Spiders, and the Gnats, which are "troubleſome during the ſummer. Here are no freſh "ſprings; but this deficiency is ſupplied by melt-"ing ſnow. The dogs belonging to the ſavages are "of a prodigious ſize, and draw their ſledges in the "place of horſes."

In the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſe-venty-eight, our adventurer undertook his third voy-age, for the purpoſe of diſcovering a north-weſt paſ-ſage. On this occaſion, numbers, allured by the hopes of acquiring gold, were ready to attend him; and fif-teen Sail of ſhips, well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries, were aſſembled at Harwich (*n*). On board

(*n*) The following is a liſt of the ſhips, and their ſeveral captains.

Ships.		Commanders.
Aid, Admiral.	Captains	Frobiſher.
Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral.		York.
Judith, Lieutenant-General.		Fenton.
Ann-Francis.		Beſt.
Hopewell.		Carew.
Bear.		Philpot.
Thomas of Ipſwich.		Tanfield.
Emanuel of Exeter.		Courtney.
Francis, of Foy.		Moyles.

of one veſſel was a wooden fort, ſo conſtructed as to bear dividing into ſmall parts, for the conveniency of carriage. It was intended that this ſhould be erected in the country which was ſuppoſed to abound with gold-mines, and where Frobiſher, and his aſſociates had formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a colony, to conſiſt of one hundred perſons.

On the thirty-firſt of May, the Engliſh ſet ſail from Harwich, and, on the twentieth of June, diſembarked at Frizeland, which they named Weſt England. Here, they obſerved ſeveral tents, and people reſembling thoſe who dwell at Meta Incognita. At their approach, the people fled, and with ſuch precipitation, that they left a part of their effects behind. This conſiſted of a box of ſmall nails, ſome deal-boards, well cut, and ſeveral implements which were neatly made. From hence there was reaſon to conclude either that the natives were artificers, or that they had traded with Europeans.

Soon after their departure, the Solomon, being under both her courſes, and top-ſails, ran foul of a large whale, and, with ſuch violence, that, for a ſmall ſpace of time, the veſſel remained motionleſs. The creature made a hideous noiſe, and, after having appeared with its tail, and a part of its body above the water, was obſerved to ſink. On the ſecond day from

Ships.		Commanders.
Moon.	Captains	Upcot.
Emanuel of Bridgewater.		Newton.
Solomon, of Weymouth.		Randal.
Bark Dennis.		Kendal.
Gabriel.		Hervey.
Michael.		Kinnerſly.

Concerning the burthen of theſe ſhips, and the number of their men, there is no account.

from this event, they found a dead whale, which they imagined to be the ſame that had been wounded.

On the ſecond of July, they arrived at Frobiſher's ſtreight, and diſcovered that it was choaked up with ice. Whilſt they ſtruggled to paſs through it, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the ſhips were in danger of ſinking. The bark Dennis, of the burthen of one hundred tons, was loſt, but the mariners eſcaped. Two other veſſels, which had not been ſeen, during the preceding twenty days; and four, which were the fartheſt out at ſea, got clear of the ice, in ſeaſonable time. Having avoided the danger, by the change of the wind to the north-weſt, they gained the open ocean, and were driven down, by the current, to the ſouthward of Frobiſher's Streight, from whence they ran nearly ſixty leagues, into another ſtreight, but, on account of the thick fog, which prevented them from making any obſervation, were ignorant of their courſe. At their return from this ſtreight, moſt of the ſhips met, and proceeded towards Frobiſher's ſtreight, but were much obſtructed in their paſſage by the ice.

At length, after having been expoſed to many dangers, the Engliſh renewed their courſe, and, on the thirty-firſt of July, reached the port of Warwick's Sound, or (as it has been named by Elizabeth,) Meta Incognita.

Here, they diſembarked, but without the leaſt view of paſſing the winter upon the ſpot, as a part of the moveable fort was loſt in the bark Dennis, and the neceſſary proviſions were not arrived. At this period, the ſhips which had been miſſing, rejoined the fleet.

Our adventurer now directed the miners to ſearch for gold, and, immediately on the report that the ore anſwered their expectations, gave orders that a large

quantity of it ſhould be conveyed on board the veſſels. As the ſeaſon was too far advanced to render it probable that the continuance of their enterprize could prove ſucceſsful, the Engliſh made the neceſſary preparations for their return.

During their ſtay at the Counteſs of Warwick's Iſland, the maſons conſtructed a houſe with lime, and ſtone, which they imagined likely to reſiſt the froſt, and ſnow, provided that the ſavages ſhould not attempt to injure it. In order to divert them from ſo inhoſpitable a deſign, they left within the houſe ſuch articles as were beſt calculated to captivate their attention. Amongſt theſe, were bells, knives, looking-glaſſes, whiſtles, pipes, and repreſentations, in lead, of men, and women. They, likewiſe, builded an oven, and left within it bread ready baked; and they ſowed peaſe, corn, and other grain, that they might obſerve, in the ſucceeding year, to what produce the ſoil was beſt adapted.

On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, the whole fleet ſet ſail from Warwick Iſland, and, after a dangerous paſſage, during which the ſhips were ſeparated by ſtorms, arrived ſafely in the Engliſh ports, at the commencement of October. The Emanuel, of Bridgewater, which was left behind, with difficulty, forced her paſſage through the ice, and proceeded northwards, through an unknown channel, full of rocks, into the north ſea, on the back of Frobiſher's Streight, where that adventurer (and, afterwards, ſome of his company,) diſcovered (if their affirmations can be depended on,) a great foreland, near to which (in their opinion,) was the wideſt paſſage towards the South ſea.

The Engliſh, on board of the Emanuel, obſerved during their homeward courſe, a large iſland, to the ſouth-eaſt of Friezeland, and in the latitude of fifty-

ſeven

ſeven degrees, and thirty minutes. They ſailed along the coaſt of it, for the ſpace of three days, and obſerved that the land was fertile, and full of wood. Until this period, it had not been diſcovered by the Europeans (*o*).

The gallant conduct of Frobiſher, whilſt he attended Sir Francis Drake, on the expedition to the Weſt-Indies (*p*); his patriotic ſervices previous to the defeat of the Armada, at which period, he was knighted by the lord high-admiral (*q*); and his enterprizes in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, near the coaſt of Spain (*r*), have been already mentioned.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped a fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſhips, with which it was intended either to ſurprize Panama, in America, to which place the Spaniards conveyed their gold, in order that it might be afterwards exported to Europe, or to intercept the Plate-flota, after it ſhould have received on board the treaſure.

The Engliſh were detained, by contrary winds, for the ſpace of three months, within their harbours, and, during this time, the Spaniards, who had received intelligence of their deſigns, iſſued orders that no ſhip ſhould depart from America. Raleigh was not informed of

(*o*) The particulars of this third voyage are taken from Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1271.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 30. 74.—Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, 6 vols. in folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio. V. 1. p. 168, 169, 170.

(*p*) See from the 115th, to the 125th page of this volume.

(*q*) See from the 232d, to the 304th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*r*) See the 108th page of this volume.

of the proceedings of the enemy, until he had arrived near cape Finiſterre; and ſoon afterwards, a violent ſtorm aroſe, in the courſe of which ſeveral of the long-boats were loſt. Raleigh now reſolved to return to England, and therefore, divided his fleet into two ſquadrons, intruſting one to the conduct of Sir Martin Frobiſher, who was ordered to cruize off the coaſt of Spain; and leaving the other under the command of Sir John Burroughs, with inſtructions to proceed to the Azores, and endeavour to intercept the Eaſt-India carracks, which were accuſtomed to touch at theſe iſlands, on their paſſage homewards.

A naval hiſtorian (*s*) hath obſerved that it was the deſign of Raleigh to have ſurprized ſome place in the Weſt-Indies; but, that being at ſea, and having paſſed two, or three days, in foul weather, the queen was pleaſed to command him to return, and to commit the charge of the ſhips to Sir Martin Frobiſher, who was ſent down for that purpoſe, but with an expreſs order not to proceed to the Weſt-Indies.

Another writer (*t*), who is yet more particular in his relation, acquaints us that Sir Walter ſet ſail on the firſt of May, and that, on the day following, Sir Martin Frobiſher, in a pinnace, called the Diſdain, met him, and brought letters of revocation from Elizabeth, with orders to relinquiſh, (for his own part,) the intended attempt, and intruſt the execution of every meaſure to Sir John Burroughs, and Sir Martin Frobiſher. He adds that the honour of Raleigh was ſo far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, that he could not with reputation, and ſatisfaction to his friends, leave his fleet, which was now under ſail; and, therefore, he put a dubious conſtruction on the letter

(*s*) Sir William Monſon.
(*t*) Hackluyt.

letter from Elizabath, as if it had left him at his liberty either to proceeed, or to return, and, without farther heſitation, continued his courſe, until the advice which he received near cape Finiſterre, obliged him to change his reſolution.

When the officers were informed of this unexpected alteration, they ſeemed, in general, deſirous of cruizing on their own accounts. Sir Martin, who foreſaw that all oppoſition would be unavailing, coincided with their wiſhes, and declared that he relinquiſhed his command over thoſe who were unwilling to remain with him.

Previous to their ſeparation, the Engliſh intercepted, and took, upon the Spaniſh coaſt, a large Biſcayan ſhip, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons, and freighted with ſeveral articles of ſmall iron work, amongſt which were horſe-ſhoes, nails, plough-ſhares, bars, ſpikes, bolts, locks, and gimblets, valued by the captors, at only ſix thouſand pounds, although to the Spaniards, they had been worth treble that ſum. Soon after his departure from the fleet, Sir John Burroughs took a Spaniſh fly boat, which he firſt deſcried near the Rock of Liſbon, and had chaſed to the ſouthward.

Sir Martin, attended by three ſhips, continued near the coaſt of Spain; a dangerous ſituation, as his veſſels were ſo ill-conſtructed that they could not out-ſail the light frigates of the enemy, and as Philip had a formidable fleet at ſea. The perſeverance with which the Spaniſh admiral attended to the motions of the ſmall ſquadron under the command of Sir Martin, was favourable to Burroughs, who availing himſelf of the defenceleſs ſituation of the carracks, and caravels, attacked, and took them. The circumſtances relating to

theſe engagements have been already mentioned (*u*). It is, therefore, ſufficient to obſerve that our adventurer returned before the expiration of the year, to England (*x*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Sir Martin Frobiſher proceeded on an expedition to Breſt, in the Vanguard, and was attended by the captains Fenner, Clifford, and Saville, in the Rainbow, the Dreadnought, and the Acquittance. His orders were to block up the port, whilſt Sir John Norris, at the head of three thouſand Engliſh troops, ſhould begin a regular attack on the land-ſide. The garriſon defended themſelves with equal intrepidity, and conduct, until Sir Martin, diſembarking his ſailors, and deſperately ſtorming the place, had the good fortune to carry it. In this action, ſeveral of the Engliſh captains were ſlain; and our gallant adventurer received a wound in his ſide, which, having been improperly treated by his ſurgeons, turned ſhortly to a mortification, in conſequence of which he died on his arrival at Plymouth, and was there interred (*y*). He was one of the moſt enterprizing, and able ſeamen of his time; intrepid to an extreme; poſſeſſed of ſingular preſence of mind; and almoſt equal to any undertaking; yet his freedoms were as unbecoming, as his manners were auſtere; and that unlimited ſeverity with

(*u*) See the 212th page of this volume.

(*x*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 63, 64, 65, —Camden, p. 680.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 682.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570. —Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 293, 294.

(*y*) Camden, p. 680.—Stowe, p. 809.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkſhire, p. 203.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 308, 309.

with which he maintained a ſtrict diſcipline amongſt the ſailors, prevented him from being much beloved (z).

(z). Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 182.—R. Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſt. p. 203.—The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norris, at Breſt, in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard, London, 1602. Quarto. p. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkſhire, p. 202, 203.—Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 308, 309.—There is an ancient portrait of Frobiſher, on the ſtair-caſe, leading to the picture gallery, at Oxford.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS.

THIS gallant officer (the ſon of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, whoſe memoirs have already been preſented to the reader,) was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire; and, as he was endued with equal abilities, and intrepidity, ſo was he like his father, expoſed to equal diſappointments, and misfortunes (*a*). As it is unneceſſary to recapitulate the particulars of thoſe ſervices which he performed during the engagements between the Engliſh fleet, and the invincible armada, we ſhall proceed to a detail of enterprizes which have not yet been noticed.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Sir Richard Hawkins obtained from Elizabeth, a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal, by which he was impowered to attack the Spaniards, in North America. Having equipped three veſſels, at his own expence, and aſſembled two hundred aſſociates, he ſet

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 391.

ſet ſail from Plymouth. His great object was to viſit China, the iſles of Japan, the Moluccas, and the Philippines; and, likewiſe, to direct his courſe, by the ſtreights of Magellan, and the South ſea. Thus, would he have taken as wide a compaſs as Drake, Cavendiſh, and the celebrated navigators who preceded him.

Not to enter into a minute deſcription of thoſe diſaſters to which he was expoſed, at the commencement of this voyage, partly by unfavourable winds, and tempeſtuous weather, and partly by the perfidy of his mariners, let it be ſufficient to obſerve that he arrived at the iſland of Saint Ann, where his pinnace was accidentally ſet on fire. From thence, he proceeded to the mouth of Rio della Plata, where he intercepted, and took a Portugueſe ſhip, on her paſſage to Angola, and freighted with Caſſavi meal, and ſugar. He next repaired towards the ſtreight of Magellan, but, on his courſe, was deſerted by captain Thralton (*c*), who ſailed from him in the veſſel of which he had the command, and thus, not only rendered the deſign of Hawkins ineffectual, but laid the foundation of thoſe calamities which he afterwards endured.

On this occaſion, our adventurer obſerves that "ſuch deſertions, and eſcapes, are only to pilfer, and "ſteal, as well as by taking of ſome prize, when they "are alone, and, without command, or order, to hinder "their bad proceedings, to appropriate that which is "in their intruſted ſhip, caſting their fault, if they "be called to account, upon ſome poor, and unknown "mariners, whom they ſuffer, with a little pillage, "to abſent themſelves, the more cunningly to cover "their

(*b*) See from page 232, to page 304, of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*c*) It was this miſcreant who, by a ſimilar act of treachery, had proved the ruin of Captain Cavendiſh.

" their greateſt diſorders, and robberies. Doubtleſs," adds this experienced officer,) " Robert Thralton, in " the Fanny, might, if he would, have come unto us, " with great facility, becauſe within ſixteen hours, " the ſtorm ceaſed, and the wind came fair, which " brought us to the ſtreights, and endured many days, " after, with us, at north-eaſt. This was good for " them, although naught for us. If he had periſhed " any maſt, or yard, ſprung any leak, wanted vic- " tuals, or inſtruments for finding us, or had any " other impediment of importance, he might have " had ſome colour to cloak his lewdneſs; but the " maſts, and yards being ſound, his ſhip ſtaunch, and " laden with victuals, for two years at the leaſt, and " having order from place, to place, where to find us, " his intention is eaſily ſeen to be bad, or his fault " ſuch as worthily deſerved to be made exemplary un- " to others. All this he manifeſted at his return by " his manner of proceeding, making a ſpoil of the " prize which he took in his way homewards, as alſo " of that which was in the ſhip, putting it into a port " fit for his purpoſe, where he might have time, and " commodity to do what he would. The breach of " duty is the more ſhameful in the Engliſh, becauſe " thoſe who are injured, either dying through grief, " or falling into extreme poverty, are ſeldom able to " proſecute ſuch offences which procured impunity, " and tempt others to follow ſuch a bad example; " whereas, in Spain, the king's attorney-general takes " notice of all ſuch offences of courſe, and, upon his " ſuit, the perpetrators of them are very ſeverely pu- " niſhed, and to this only may be attributed all their " ſucceſs. In all other things, we are at leaſt their " equals; in many things, much their ſuperiors."

Thus deſerted, at a conſiderable diſtance from any ſhore, and nearly in the latitude of fifty degrees, Sir Richard, and his aſſociates proceeded, but with uncertainty, on their courſe. The ſoon approached a fertile country, the harbours of which appeared commodious, and, on the mountains, were ſtately foreſts. As the place was not laid down in any of their charts, they could not even form a conjecture relative to its name. The multitude of fires which were blazing on the coaſt convinced them that it was populous. But, as they had loſt their pinnace, in which they might have diſcovered the ſhore before them, it was not poſſible to come within hail of the inhabitants.

Here, the Engliſh cruized, for the ſpace of ſixty leagues, from weſt to north, until, being driven back by contrary winds, they made the ſtreight of Magellan, in January, of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, and ſailed up to it to the heighth of fifty-ſix degrees. On the adjoining ſhore, they diſcovered quantities of muſcles, which were ſo large and delicious, that they formed the greater part of their ſubſiſtence. Moſt of the ſhells contained pearls, and, in ſome, the number amounted to thirty; yet theſe were not of any ſize, nor of that bright, orient colour, from which they receive their value.

Having remained, during the ſpace of ſix weeks, near the iſlands of this ſtreight, and ſtriven againſt dangerous, and uncertain currents, Sir Richard proceeded ſafely into the open ſea, and (if we can rely on the teſtimony of the Spaniſh hiſtorians,) was the ſixth perſon who enjoyed the felicity, and honour of having paſſed the ſtreight.

From hence, they ſailed along the coaſts of Chili, and diſembarking at Valparizo, plundered the Spaniſh ſtore-houſes, and took five merchant-ſhips, one of which,

which, laden with Baldivian goods, they detained, but accepted of a ranſom for the reſt, amounting to two thouſand ducats.

They next directed their courſe to Arica, where they were intercepted, and attacked by eight Spaniſh ſhips, on board of which were two thouſand men, under the command of Don Bertrand de Caſtro. After a long, but ineffectual engagement, the enemy retreated, having been much ſhattered by the violence of the wind, and weather.

The hiſtorian (*d*) who hath given an account of this action, obſerves that the Engliſh and the Spaniards were ſcarcely within ſight of each other, when they prepared for battle. The winds, and ſtorms proved favourable to the former, and equally detrimental to the latter, whoſe veſſels were ſeverely damaged. The main-maſt of the Spaniſh admiral-ſhip was ſnapped aſunder, and, ſoon afterwards, ſhe dropped aſtern. The vice-admiral loſt her main-ſail, and the rear-admiral her main-yard, and only one ſhip of the Armada which had plied to windward could poſſibly have engaged, but her commander appeared unwilling to come to action. Thus, the two fleets remained, during the whole day, without making an attempt to commit hoſtilities. When the night advanced, Sir Richard called a conſultation of officers, in order to determine what operations might be neceſſary. At this period, the Spaniſh admiral-ſhip, and two others, were ſtationed a-ſtern of the Engliſh; the rear-admiral-ſhip was right a-head; the vice-admiral-ſhip to the lee-ward; one veſſel on the bow, and moſt of the reſt within ſhot. Sir Richard, and his aſſociates, concluded that it would be prudent to bear up before the wind, and endeavour to retreat between the admiral,

(*d*) Harris.

and the vice-admiral-ſhip. This purpoſe they fortunately accompliſhed, previous to the riſing of the moon.

The Engliſh now directed their courſe towards the bay of Atacama, and, nearly fifty leagues to the northward of Lima, and within view of the town of Mongon, intercepted, and took a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, freighted with wheat, ſugar, Cardovan ſkins, honey, and other commodities. Having ſecured the moſt valuable part of the cargo, they ſet the crew aſhore, and then burned the ſhip.

In the mean time, the Spaniſh admiral, having reinforced his ſquadron, and procured a freſh ſupply of ammunition, and proviſions, purſued the Engliſh, to Atacama, and once more attacked them. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, Sir Richard, and his brave aſſociates were overpowered, and driven to the neceſſity of accepting the offers which the Spaniards made them, of life, and liberty, on condition that they immediately ſubmitted. Before the Engliſh ſtruck their colours, every ſail had been torn away, the maſts were ſhattered, the pumps were ſhot to pieces, the decks were broken in, moſt of the mariners were killed, and water had entered to the depth of ſeven feet, within the hold. Add to this, that Sir Richard Hawkins was ſeverely wounded; and yet, although his veſſel was on the point of ſinking, he would not have ſubmitted, but for the earneſt interceſſions of the crew.

After the Engliſh were taken priſoners, the admiral Don Bertrand de Caſtro, ſhewed Sir Richard a letter, addreſſed from the king of Spain, to the vice-roy of Peru, and deſcribing, in the fulleſt terms, the preparations for the enterprize which was to have been undertaken by the Engliſh, the number of their ſhips,

their

their burthen, men, guns, and ammunition; circumſtances which demonſtrated how cloſe a correſpondence Philip maintained with perſons who were too well acquainted with the counſels of Elizabeth.

Sir Richard Hawkins continued, during a length of time, a priſoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by De Caſtro; yet, at laſt, in conſequence of an order from the court of Spain, he was ſent to that kingdom, where he remained for the ſpace of ſeveral years, a priſoner in Seville, and in Madrid. In time, he obtained his liberty, and returned to England. Here, he paſſed the reſt of his life in the cultivation of the arts of peace. A part of his leiſure hours was employed in writing the hiſtory of his life, until that period at which he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards. He had prepared materials for an augmentation of this work, but was prevented from digeſting them by ſudden death. Having been ſummoned to attend the privy council, he was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy, in the anti-chamber, and immediately expired.

A naval hiſtorian (*e*) concludes the memoirs of this illuſtrious adventurer with the inſertion of the following remarks concerning his father, Sir John Hawkins, and himſelf.

"If fortune had been as propitious to them both, "as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and know-"ledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any "age (*f*), (*g*)."

(*e*) Mr. Campbell.

(*f*) In the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ſixty-one, ſome of the deſcendants of Sir Richard Hawkins were living in an obſcure ſtation, on the borders of Devonſhire.

(*g*) The particulars of the life of Sir Richard Hawkins are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 738.—Prince's Worthies

thies of Devonſhire, p. 391.—Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, his voyage to the South-Sea, A. D. 1593. Printed for John Jaggard, at the Hand and Star, in Fleet-ſtreet.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1367.—Captain Ellis's account, in the ſame book, p. 1415.—Deſcription of Devonſhire, Art. Plymouth, MS. penes me. Weſtcot.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio. p. 297, 298.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 581, 582, 583, 584.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Captain JAMES LANCASTER.

CONCERNING the earlier ſcenes in the life of this celebrated adventurer, our naval hiſtorians have been entirely ſilent. The firſt preparations in which he is recorded to have been concerned were made for an expedition to the Weſt-Indies. Towards this region, he ſet ſail, as the aſſociate of captain George Raymond, on the tenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred and ninety-one. With their ſquadron, which conſiſted of three large ſhips, the Penelope, admiral; the Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral; and the Edward-Bonaventure, rear-admiral; the Engliſh arrived from Plymouth, at the Canaries, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, and, in four days afterwards, renewed their courſe. On the ſecond of May, they approached the heighth of Cape Blanco; on the fifth, they paſſed the Tropic of Cancer; and, on the eighth, reached cape Verd. On the ſixth of June, they paſſed the line, previous to which event, hav-

ing been obſtructed in their deſtined voyage, by contrary winds, they cruized upon the ſeas, and took a Portugueſe caravel, bound for the Braziles, and laden with ſixty tons of wine, twelve hundred jars of olives, and various articles of merchandize. On the firſt of Auguſt, and, at a period when numbers of the crew were languiſhing under the diſtempers peculiar to the climate, they put into the bay of Agoada de Saldanha. From hence, the Merchant Royal, on board of which were fifty diſabled mariners, ſet ſail for England. The companies belonging to the other ſhips were now reduced to one hundred, and ninety-eight men; and their commanders, with equal humanity, and prudence, conſented that, in order to procure a re-eſtabliſhment of their health, they ſhould remain, during a month, on ſhore, where proviſions were ſo plentiful, that the natives chearfully gave the Engliſh, either a bullock, or a ſheep, in exchange for broken knives, and other articles of immaterial value.

Soon after their departure from this place, the Engliſh doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded to Corrientes. Here the Penelope, commanded by captain George Raymond, was ſeparated from the Edward-Bonaventure, in a ſtorm. As her lights were ſuddenly obſerved to diſappear it was imagined that ſhe had ſunk to the bottom of the ocean.

This tempeſt was ſucceeded by ſuch violent, and fatal flaſhes of lightning, that three mariners, whoſe necks had been diſtorted by the force of it, periſhed, almoſt in the inſtant from the time at which they had received the ſtroke. Several of the reſt either loſt their ſight, or were deprived of the uſes of their limbs: others were ſeized with the moſt excruciating pains, attended with vomitings of blood; and the bodies of ſome of the unhappy ſufferers were ſtretched, as if they

they had been tortured on the rack. The main-maſt was alſo ſhattered from the top, even to the deck; and ſome iron ſpikes placed ten inches within the timbers, were intirely melted.

From Cape Corrientes, our adventurer, and his aſſociates, proceeded to the iſlands of Comorro, where William Mace, the maſter of the Edward-Bonaventure, and thirty of the ſailors, were attacked, at their debarkation to procure water, and murdered by the ſavages. Alarmed at this event, Lancaſter departed immediately for Zanzibar, on the coaſt of Melinde, where he wintered, and, on the fifteenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, proceeded towards the Indies. During his courſe, he intercepted, and took ſome Turkiſh veſſels, in the ſervice of the merchants of Peru, and, likewiſe, ſome Portugueſe barks, laden with rice.

An indefatigable hiſtorian (*a*) hath obſerved that the Engliſh amounted only to thirty-three men, at the time when theſe veſſels were taken, and that two of the prizes, belonging to the Portugueſe, were ſhips of great force, the one being of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and the other of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons. The laſt, which had been abandoned by the whole company, conſiſting of three hundred perſons, was freighted with three hundred butts of wine, and ſixteen pieces of braſs cannon, excluſive of various articles of valuable merchandize. When theſe veſſels had been entirely plundered, Lancaſter directed that they ſhould be turned adrift.

The Engliſh next directed their courſe towards Ceylon; from thence they ſailed to the iſlands of Nicubar, near Sumatra; and, afterwards, to the iſles of Pinaon, or Pulo-Pinaom, where they arrived in the Month

(*a*) Hackluyt.

Month of June, intending to remain there during the enſuing winter; but a diſtemper which broke out, towards the cloſe of the year, amongſt the crew, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the mutinous diſpoſition of the mariners, were circumſtances ſo alarming, that Lancaſter determined to proceed, with all poſſible expedition to England. Accordingly, on the eighth of December, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, he ſet ſail, with his aſſociates, and, having doubled the Cape of good Hope (*b*), arrived, in the month of April, at the iſland of Saint Helena, and procured a ſupply of all neceſſary proviſions. Soon after their departure from this place, they were driven by the trade-winds to the iſland of Trinidada, in America, where they diſembarked in the month of June. From hence, they purſued their courſe to the iſland of Mona, near Puerto Ricco, and there the carpenter, five mariners, and a boy, availing themſelves of the abſence of captain Lancaſter, on ſhore, cut the cable of the Edward-Bonaventure, ſtood out to ſea, and made ſail for England, where they arrived ſafely, with a valuable cargo.

When Lancaſter, and his companions had remained, during ſeveral weeks, in great diſtreſs, at Mona, they were ſo fortunate as to be received on board of a French ſhip which entered the harbour, and, ſhortly afterwards, proceeded, on her return to Europe. On the twentieth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, our adventurer arrived at Rye, cloſing a voyage of three years, which, although marked by a ſeries of adverſity, and diſappointments, proved the means of eſtabliſhing his reputation, and occaſioned him to be conſidered as the firſt Engliſhman who had opened a commercial intercourſe with the natives

(*b*) March 31, 1593.

tives of the East Indies, and laid the basis of mercantile connections at once flourishing, and extensive (*c*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Lancaster was appointed to the command of a small squadron fitted out at the expence of some adventurers belonging to the port of London. Exclusive of a pinnace, constructed to take in pieces, for the convenience of stowage, this equipment consisted of three vessels; the Consent, admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons; the Solomon, vice-admiral, of the burthen of one hundred, and seventy tons, and commanded by Edmund Barker, of London; the Virgin, under captain John Audley, of Poplar, and of the burthen of sixty tons. The design of these preparations was to annoy the Spaniards, dwelling on the coast of Brazil, in revenge for hostilities which had been attended with the seizure of several valuable cargoes of English merchandize. On the thirtieth of November, Lancaster, and his associates, set sail from Dartmouth, but had not proceeded to the distance of fifty leagues beyond the coast, before a violent storm arose, during which the Consent was separated from the squadron. She rejoined it, not long afterwards, near Cape Blanco, and, at this period, the several ships had taken thirty-nine Spanish, and Portuguese vessels, of different burthens. Of these, four only were detained; the rest, having been plundered, received permission to depart.

The English next proceeded to the island of Mayo, where they framed their pinnace, which was furnished with a mast, sail, and fourteen banks on each side. The command of her was given to an experienced mariner,

(*c*) Camden.—Hacklupt, part 3. p. 573.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 286.

mariner, of the name of Watts, who was to take the charge of landing the men ſafely at the Braziles. Our adventurer, and his aſſociates, remained at Mayo, nearly three weeks, previous to the expiration of which period, they were joined by captain Venner, in the Peregrine, (together with a Biſcayan veſſel, which he had taken at Cape Blanco;) and by the Welcome, and her pinnace, belonging to the port of Plymouth. The commanders of the veſſels (the laſt of which had been cruizing in the adjacent ſeas,) agreed to aſſiſt Lancaſter on the commiſſion of hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the king of Spain, on condition that they ſhould receive a fourth ſhare of all the prizes; and they immediately reſolved to attack Fernambuco, a town ſituated on the coaſt of Brazil, where the inhabitants preſerved, for the uſe of their ſovereign, an immenſe treaſure, ſaved from an Eaſt-Indian carrack, which had been caſt away near that place.

On the twenty ninth of March, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Engliſh reached the town of Fernambuco, and lay before the harbour, until break of day. In the mean time, the admiral manned his pinnace with eighty ſailors, and, rowing, in his boat from ſhip to ſhip, directed the ſeveral commanders to furniſh as great a number of their crews as could be ſpared, with muſkets, pikes, bills, bows, arrows, and other implements of war, in order that they might follow him, and ſecond his attempt to force into the harbour, at the firſt appearance of the morning. Five ſmall ſhips, which had been brought from Cape Blanco, and were, on this occaſion, ſupplied only with as many ſailors as were ſufficient to navigate them, were appointed to enter the port, at the ſame time, for the purpoſe of oppoſing three large Dutch veſſels, if they ſhould attempt

to

to obſtruct the paſſage of the Engliſh. In this caſe, Lancaſter had given orders that they ſhould be boarded and grappled; and that his men having ſet fire to their own ſhips, ſhould immediately eſcape in their boats. Theſe directions were, fortunately needleſs. The Dutch appeared deſirous of maintaining a neutrality, and were no ſooner convinced of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, than they warped to a ſecurer, and more diſtant ſtation.

At day-break, Lancaſter obſerved that the boats had been driven below the harbour, more than half a mile to the northwards; a circumſtance which, added to the reflux of the tide, prevented them from recovering the harbour, until the afternoon. The inhabitants were now alarmed, and dreading an immediate aſſault, aſſembled to the number of ſix hundred men, and marched forwards to the platform, in order to oppoſe the landing of their enemies.

It appears to have been the determination of Lancaſter, either to conquer, or periſh in the attempt. This gallant adventurer gave orders that the helmſmen, and all the rowers of the pinnace, and boats, ſhould run them on ſhore with ſuch violence that each might be daſhed in pieces, and that his aſſociates, deprived of the poſſibility of retreating, might at once perceive that their ſole reliance was on the GOD of BATTLE, their valour, and their arms.

At the flood, the Engliſh, in obedience to the directions of their admiral, ſet every ſail, and ran the pinnace, and boats aſhore, at a ſmall diſtance from the fort, and with ſuch exceſſive violence, that they immediately ſunk. At this inſtant, Lancaſter leaped into the water, and was followed by his aſſociates to the ſhore. Scarcely were they landed when a party

of

of the enemy, within the fort, diſcharged ſeven pieces of cannon, but in ſo erring a direction, that moſt of the balls fell hurtleſs on the ſands, and the only perſon wounded was a mariner who loſt his arm. The Engliſh now ruſhed forwards, and the Spaniards, diſmayed at their intrepidity, had not preſence of mind to load their artillery, but retiring with precipitation, left the fort in the poſſeſſion of their aſſailants.

The admiral, thus far ſucceſsful, diſplayed the appointed ſignal for the ſquadron to get under way, and, ſoon afterwards, every veſſel had entered within the harbour. The Engliſh next directed the cannon of the fort againſt the high town, whilſt an armed multitude marched towards the lower-town, in which were ſituated the warehouſes belonging to the merchants. At the approach of their adverſaries, the inhabitants fled to the caravels, and boats, leaving every entrance to the town intirely unguarded.

Excluſive of various articles of valuable merchandize, the plunder conſiſted of large quantities of Brazil-wood, ſugar, callicoes, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs. The admiral directed captain Venner, and his men to take their ſtations at the ſouthern extremity of the town, whilſt the captains Barker, and Addy, proceeded, with their aſſociates, to the other end, leaving the main body of the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the middle ſtreets. Orders were likewiſe iſſued that ſevere penalties, together with the loſs of their plunder, ſhould be inflicted on thoſe perſons who without eſpecial leave of the commander in chief, ſhould break open, or enter any of the ſtorehouſes. Such was the ſalutary effect of this regulation that during the whole time that the Engliſh remained at Fernambuco, no diſorders were committed, nor any booty retained by violence, but in equal

ſhares,

ſhares, according to the rank, and quality of the conquerors.

On the day following, the Engliſh fortified all that part of the town which extended towards the land, and conſtructed a ſtrong fort. They next prevailed on the commanders of the three Dutch veſſels, for a valuable reward, not only to aſſiſt them in their operations, but, afterwards to receive on board the plunder, and convey it to ſuch ports, as the admiral ſhould judge proper. In two days afterwards, an armed multitude of Portugueſe, and Indians, appeared before the town, at midnight, and, with hideous outcries, attacked the Engliſh. The action, which was ſhort, ended in the total overthrow of the former. On the fifth of April, three French men of war, attended by two pinnaces, ſailed into the harbour. At an interview with their officers, the admiral diſcovered that one of the commanders was the perſon who had received him on board, at the iſland of Mona. Happy to embrace an opportunity of gratefully returning the aſſiſtance which he had received, in the moment of diſtreſs, Lancaſter preſented his benefactor with a caravel, of the burthen of fifty tons, and permitted the French (who afterwards aſſiſted the Engliſh in every action,) to load their veſſels with a large quantity of Brazil-wood, and ſeveral articles of valuable merchandize.

On the third day from the landing of the admiral, and his aſſociates, a body of the inhabitants, diſplaying a flag of truce, appeared before the high town, and requeſted that they might be admitted to an audience. As Lancaſter had hitherto ſucceeded in his attempts, and was not under the neceſſity of receiving favours from an enemy, he refuſed to comply with their deſires, and threatened to proceed to violent hoſtilities,

tilities, unleſs they inſtantly departed. On the twentieth day, ſubſequent to this event, the Portugueſe, availing themſelves of the wind, and tide, ſent five fire-ſhips, amongſt the veſſels of the Engliſh, who, continually on their guard, and ſuſpecting ſuch attempts, entered within their boat, and, throwing grappling irons into the fire-ſhips, towed them all aground.

In the week following, the Portugueſe engaged in a ſimilar, but more dangerous enterprize, and, having made great fires upon large rafts, on which they had erected poles, with fire-ſpouts at the top, for the purpoſe of annoying the boats, of their aſſailants, they ſet theſe formidable machines adrift, in hopes that they might conſume the veſſels of the Engliſh. On this occaſion, they were equally unſucceſsful, and the ſame men whom Lancaſter had before employed, fixed their grappling irons on the rafts, and towed them on ſhore, where they continued burning until the morning.

At the expiration of thirty days, all hoſtilities appeared to have been concluded, and the immenſe plunder which had been taken was ſafely ſtowed, on board of Dutch, French, and Engliſh ſhips. At day-break, the admiral, and his aſſociates, prepared for their departure, when, on a ſudden, an armed multitude of Portugueſe, and Indians, ruſhed forwards, and began a furious engagement. In this their eleventh, and laſt enterprize, they ſtill miſcarried, and, after a great ſlaughter, retreated with much diſorder, and precipitation. Too eager in the purſuit, and regardleſs of the orders which had been iſſued by the admiral, a party of the Engliſh were ſurrounded by the main body of the Portugueſe, who had been poſted in ambuſh, and ſlew thirty-five of their adverſaries, amongſt whom were

were captain Barker, of the Solomon; captain Cotton, the lieutenant under the admiral; captain Jean Noyer, of the port of Dieppe; another French captain, from Rochelle; and Mr. John Barker, an Engliſhman.

In the following night, when the Portugueſe, and Indians ſeemed too intimidated to renew their oppoſition againſt their adverſaries, the victorious fleet ſet ſail. It conſiſted of three Dutch veſſels; one of the burthen of four hundred, and fifty tons; a ſecond of the burthen of three hundred, and fifty tons; and a third of the burthen of three hundred tons; five French ſhips, including that which Lancaſter preſented to the commander who had received him on board, at Mona; three ſail of ſhips, compoſing a part of the fleet under captain Venner, of Plymouth; and four ſhips immediately under the command of Lancaſter, all of which were richly laden. The whole armament proceeded towards Peranjeu, an harbour ſituated nearly forty leagues to the Northward of Fernambuco. As they approached this place, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which moſt of the ſhips were ſeparated. The ſquadron under the command of Lancaſter was now reduced to four ſhips; and, with theſe, after having procured a ſupply of freſh proviſions, he directed his courſe homewards, and arrived ſafely in the Downs, in the month of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Here, he was informed that the other veſſels had returned before him; that the French had reached Dieppe; that captain Venner, with his ſquadron, had entered the port of Plymouth; and that the other ſhips belonging to the admiral were at anchor in the river Thames (*d*).

(*d*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt, Part 3. V. 2. p. 708.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 304, 305.

The next expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was immediately ſubſequent to the eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt-India company, of which the firſt members were Sir John Spencer, and Sir Edward Michelburn, of London, knights; William Candiſh, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Holliday, John Watts, John Moore, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampſon, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Campbell, aldermen of London, excluſive of more than two hundred perſons of rank, and property.

Without entering minutely into the particulars of the patent granted, by Elizabeth, towards the concluſion of the year, one thouſand, and ſix hundred, let it be ſufficient to acquaint the reader that theſe individuals were formed into a body corporate, and politic, under the title of the Governour, and company of merchants of London, trading into the Eaſt-Indies; that they were allowed a common ſeal, with power to change, or alter it, at pleaſure; that the firſt governour, and twenty-four directors were nominated in the privilege, and power veſted in the company to elect a deputy-governour; and likewiſe to elect a governour, deputy-governour, and twenty-four directors, yearly, for the future. A freedom was granted to them, their ſucceſſors, and their ſons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one, and alſo to the apprentices, factors, and ſervants employed by them, for the ſpace of fifteen years, freely to traffic, and uſe the trade of merchandize, by ſea, in, and by ſuch ways, and paſſages, already found out, or diſcovered, or hereafter to be found out, and diſcovered, as they ſhould eſteem, and take to be the fitteſt into, and from the Eaſt-Indies; into the countries, and ports of Aſia, and Africa; and into, and from all the iſlands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns, and places of Aſia, Africa,

Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the ſtreight of Magellan, where any trade, or traffic of merchandize might be uſed, or had, to, and from every of them, in ſuch order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themſelves ſhould, from time, to time, agree upon.

They were allowed the authority of making reaſonable by-laws, and might, likewiſe, inflict puniſhment on offenders, either in body, or purpoſe, provided it were not contrary to the laws of the realm of England. Their outward-bound goods were to be cuſtom-free for the firſt four voyages; and, then, the cuſtom of all goods exported, which ſhould miſcarry, was to be permitted in other goods which might be ſhipped afterwards. For the cuſtoms, and ſubſidies on other goods, they were allowed ſix months credit for one half, and twelve months credit for the other half, with a free re-exportation for thirteen months. They were alſo permitted to export, every voyage, the value of thirty thouſand pounds, foreign coin, or bullion, provided that ſix thouſand pounds were coined in the mint belonging to the queen.

Six ſhips, and ſix pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, were allowed to be ſent yearly to the Eaſt-Indies, any reſtraint notwithſtanding, except when the royal navy was going out, and ſhips, and mariners were wanting.

All others, the ſubjects of Elizabeth, were, by this privilege, excluded from trading into thoſe parts, under ſevere penalties, without the aſſent, and licence of the company, who were allowed the liberty of admitting others into this freedom. They were alſo obliged to bring in, after every voyage returned, within ſix months, as great a quantity of ſilver, gold, or foreign coin, as they ſhould carry out, the firſt voy-

age excepted. All ſilver, or gold exported by the company was to be ſhipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth. The privilege was not to extend into any place, being in actual poſſeſſion of any prince, in league, or amity with Elizabeth. If this privilege was found unprofitable for the realm, then, within two years warning, given under the privy ſeal, the ſame was to be void; but, on the contrary, if it was found beneficial, then it was to be renewed, with ſome additions. This privilege was dated on the thirty-firſt of December, in the year, one thouſand, and ſix hundred.

The merchants included within the patent, having raiſed a ſubſcription to the amount of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, and obtained letters of recommendation to the chief princes of India, equipped a fleet of five veſſels; the Dragon, admiral, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of three hundred tons; the Aſcenſion, of the burthen of two hundred tons; the Swan, nearly of the ſame burthen; and the Gueſt, a victualler, of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons.

The number of men on board of this fleet amounted to four hundred, and fifty. Excluſive of the neceſſary proviſions, ammunition, and victuals were provided for twenty merchants. To theſe, were delivered, as a trading ſtock, twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds, in ſpecie. The remainder of the capital was intirely expended in the equipment of the fleet, and other preparations of importance.

On the thirteenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and one, this armament ſailed from Woolwich, under the command of Lancaſter; and, proceeding to Torbay, remained there until the ſecond of May. On the twenty-firſt of June, and

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when they were within two degrees to the northward of the Line, the Engliſh intercepted, and took a Portugueſe veſſel, on her paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies. The cargo of this prize proved of great ſervice to the captors, and conſiſted, amongſt other articles, of one hundred, and forty-ſix barrels of butter, one hundred, and ſeventy-ſix jars of oil, and fifty-five hogſheads of meal.

On the thirtieth of June, they paſſed the line; and, on the twentieth of July, having reached nineteen degrees, and forty minutes of ſouthern latitude, they unladed their victualling ſhip, called the Gueſt, and having reſerved her maſts, yards, and ſails, broke down her quarters for fire-wood, and then turned her adrift. On the twenty-fourth, they paſſed the Tropic of Capricorn, and from thence, (as diſtempers began to rage amongſt the crews,) determined to proceed either to Saint Helena, or Soldamia, for the purpoſe of obtaining freſh proviſions.

On the paſſage, numbers of the mariners who had long languiſhed under the ſeverities of ſickneſs, were ſo enfeebled by repeated attempts to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhips, that no circumſtance except an actual reſt from labour, could have effected their recovery. At this alarming criſis, when the merchants, and chief officers were obliged to work at the helm, and perform the various duties of the common ſailors, the fleet approached the harbour of Soldamia; but in ſo helpleſs a condition were the Engliſh, that from the crews even of three ſhips, a ſufficient number of mariners was wanting, either to let fall the anchors, or man the boats. Having procured aſſiſtance, they diſembarked, and engaged in traffic with the natives, who ſupplied them with live cattle, and the various Commodities of the country.

On the twenty-ninth of October, and at a period when one hundred, and fifty of the Engliſh had fallen a ſacrifice to diſtempers, our gallant adventurer, and his aſſociates, renewed their courſe, and, on the firſt of November, doubled the cape of Good Hope. On the twenty-ſixth, they reached the iſland of Saint Lawrence, which is ſituated to the Eaſtward of Cape Sebaſtian. On the ſeventeenth of December, they deſcried the Southern extremity of the iſland of Saint Mary; and, on the eighteenth, they caſt anchor between that place, and the great iſland of Saint Lawrence. On the twenty-fifth, they entered the bay of Antongil; and, on the twenty-ſixth, anchored in a commodious road, between the ſmall iſland, and the main. Here, they diſembarked, and traded with the natives for oranges, lemons, rice, peas, beans, poultry, and cattle.

On the ſixth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred and two, they departed from this place, and directed their courſe towards the Indies. On the ninth of May, they obſerved the iſlands of Nicubar, and, on the twentieth, reached the iſland of Sombrero. From hence, they ſet ſail on the twenty-ninth; and, on the fifth of June, caſt anchor in the road of Achen, at the diſtance of two miles from the city.

Immediately after his arrival, Lancaſter (who had been directed to obtain permiſſion for the ſettlement of a factory, at Achen,) ſent ſix gentlemen, who were to demand an audience, and delivered the letters, and preſents from Elizabeth, to the ſovereign of the place. The latter, not ignorant either of the power of the queen of England, or of the reputation which ſhe had acquired by her naval, and military ſucceſſes againſt the Spaniards, was overjoyed at the opportunity of doing honour to her ſubjects, prepared a ſplendid banquet for the ambaſſadors, aſſured them that the ſhips,

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and all their crews might remain ſecure within his harbours, and diſpatched a meſſenger to inform Lancaſter that if he choſe to diſembark, and repair to court, he ſhould find the ſame gracious reception which might have been expected in the preſence of Elizabeth.

On the eighth of June the admiral landed, and attended by the chief officers of the fleet, proceeded to the palace, where he was treated with every mark of favour, and reſpect, and from whence, after having partaken of a magnificent entertainment, he returned to his own veſſel. At a ſecond interview, the king obſerved that he had felt the higheſt ſatisfaction from the peruſal of the letters which had been delivered from Elizabeth, and immediately gave orders that two miniſters of ſtate ſhould enter into a negociation, with the Engliſh, concerning the buſineſs on which they had been ſent. After ſeveral conferences, a league was concluded between Elizabeth, and the ſovereign of Achen, who, with his own hands, ſurrendered to Lancaſter, the inſtrument which contained the grant of ſeveral important privileges, and accompanied this gift with the warmeſt expreſſions of his inviolable eſteem for Elizabeth, and all her ſubjects.

The rights, and immunities, conferred on this occaſion, were

I. A free entry, and trade.

II. An exemption from cuſtoms on all imports, and exports.

III. The liberty of making wills, and of diſpoſing of eſtates, where, and to whomſoever the Engliſh might think proper.

IV. Full ſecurity with regard to all bargains, and Payments, in which reſpect the Acheneſe were to be

tied down to a punctual, and ſtrict obſervation of all the meaſures of juſtice, and fair dealing.

V. Authority to inflict puniſhments on their own delinquents, without an appeal to the civil magiſtrate of the country.

VI. An aſſurance of juſtice to be done, on immediate complaint, in all caſes of injuries received from the natives.

VII. A freedom from all arreſts, either on goods, or prizes.

VII. Liberty of conſcience, and the undiſturbed exerciſe of their own religion.

When theſe points were intirely adjuſted, the merchants endeavoured to procure a large freight of pepper, but, on account of the barrenneſs of the preceding year, this commodity was extremely ſcarce, and the price of it much higher than even under ſuch circumſtances could reaſonably have been expected. At this juncture, the admiral received advice that a ſufficient quantity of pepper for the cargo of one veſſel, might be procured at Priaman, a place ſituated at the diſtance of an hundred, and fifty leagues to the ſouthward of Achen. He, therefore, gave orders that the Swan ſhould ſail thither for the purpoſe of receiving it.

It may, in this place be proper to obſerve, that the courteous reception which had been given to Lancaſter, and his aſſociates, by the king of Achen, excited the jealouſy of the Portugueſe, who obſerved with equal anger, and concern, how eaſily the Engliſh had obtained thoſe important privileges which they, with all their intereſt, and aſſiduity, were ſtill unable to procure. Eager to effect the ruin of their ſucceſsful rivals, they attempted, but in vain, through the inſi-

nuations

nuations of their ambaſſador, to exclude them from the court. The king continued firmly attached, on every occaſion, to their cauſe, and even aſſiſted them to defeat the treacherous combination of their opponents.

On the eleventh of September, the admiral ſet ſail towards the ſtreights of Malacca, in order to cruize againſt the veſſels in the ſervice of the Portugueſe. Mean while, the chief merchants, whom the king had promiſed to take under his protection, were left at Achen, for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the European trade with the natives of the place. In company with the fleet under the command of Lancaſter, were two Dutch ſhips, of the burthen of two hundred tons, the captains of which offered to bear a part in the adventure, and, by agreement, were to receive an eighth ſhare of the cargoes of ſuch prizes as might be taken.

On the third of October, a veſſel appeared in ſight, and was ſoon afterwards intercepted by the Hector, which ſhip, having diſcharged a broadſide at her, was ſupported in the engagement by the Aſcenſion. The enemy maintained a briſk fire, during a conſiderable time, and until her main-yard was carried away by a ſhot from the Dragon. The night now advanced, and all hoſtilities appeared to be ſuſpended. At day-break the captain of the veſſel came on board of the admiral, and declared that, as all oppoſition muſt prove ineffectual, he yielded himſelf to the mercy of the Engliſh. A proper number of officers, and ſailors were now ſent to take poſſeſſion of the prize, which was on her voyage from the iſland of Saint Thomas, in the bay of Bengala, to the ſtreights of Malacca. She was of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and, on board of her, were ſix hundred perſons. Her cargo con-

conſiſted of nine hundred, and fifty packs of callicoes, and various articles of the moſt coſtly merchandize.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the admiral returned ſafely, with his fleet, into the harbour of Achen, and, on being informed that the Engliſh agents who remained there, during his abſence, had been liberally encouraged, and protected by the king, he made the latter a preſent of ſeveral of the richeſt commodities which had been taken from the prize.

Having directed that all the ſpices ſhould be conveyed on board, our adventurer now prepared for his voyage to Bantam. Not long before he ſailed, he was admitted to a conference with the ſovereign of Achen, who delivered to him a letter, three pieces of cloth embroidered with gold, and a ring ſet with rubies of immenſe value. Theſe he was ordered to preſent, on his arrival in England, to Elizabeth. The king now pronounced, in great form, a bleſſing on the Engliſh nation, and having given to Lancaſter a large ruby, as a mark of his eſteem, diſmiſſed him, and his aſſociates, with a promiſe that they ſhould find the ſame gracious reception, at any future period when they might chuſe to re-viſit his dominions.

On the ninth of November, they departed from Achen, with three ſhips, on a voyage to Priaman, and Bantam, to which places the Suſan had already ſailed, in order to procure a lading of pepper, and other articles of merchandize. In two days afterwards, the admiral diſpatched the Aſcenſion to England; whilſt the other two ſhips ſailed along the coaſt of Sumatra, for the purpoſe of re-joining the Suſan. Having croſſed the Equinoctial, a third time, they arrived, on the twentieth, at Priaman, where they found the Suſan, already freighted with ſix hundred bahars of pepper, and ſixty-ſix of cloves. She was now ordered to com-

compleat her lading, and then ſail directly homewards.

On the fifteenth of December, the Engliſh arrived in the ſtreights of Sunda, and came to an anchor within three leagues of Bantam. On the ſixteenth, they entered the road, when the vice-admiral diſembarked, in order to certify their arrival, and buſineſs to the king, and to deſire a ſafe conduct. This monarch ſent one of his nobles, with the vice-admiral, to bid the admiral welcome, and to conduct him to the court. The reception which he met with was no leſs gracious at this place than at Achen. The delivery of the letter, and the ſervice of plate, gave the higheſt ſatisfaction; and orders were immediately iſſued by the king that all freedom of commerce ſhould be granted to the Engliſh, and that they ſhould enjoy as ample a protection, as if they were reſiding within their own country.

The ſole misfortune which they experienced during their ſtay at Bantam, was the loſs of their vice-admiral, John Middleton. All other circumſtances were accompanied by ſucceſs; and ſo uninterrupted was their trade that, previous to the eleventh of February, the ſhips had received their full loading of pepper, and were in readineſs to ſail. When the admiral was at the point of his departure, he diſpatched ſeveral experienced perſons in the pinnace to the Malaccas, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a trade, and factory, againſt the next return of the ſhips from England. He provided alſo for the ſecurity of the commerce, during his abſence, at Bantam, leaving there a ſufficient number of agents, in order that ſuch articles of merchandize as might be left ſhould be diſpoſed of. At his laſt audience, he was intruſted with a letter, and a pre-

a preſent of bezoar-ſtone, for his ſovereign Elizabeth, receiving, at the ſame time, for his own uſe, a jewel of the like kind, together with a Java dagger, curiouſly wrought, and ſet with pearls.

On the twentieth of February, this illuſtrious adventurer, and his aſſociates, directed their courſe for England. On the thirteenth of March, they paſſed the tropic of Capricorn, and, on the fifth of June, arrived at Saint Helena, after having been expoſed to great dangers during the violence of a tempeſt. It was at this juncture that the Dragon loſt her rudder; an alarming accident; yet, in the opinion of Lancaſter, not ſufficient to have juſtified his conduct, if he had quitted the ſhip, and, in compliance with the intreaties of his aſſociates, gone on board the Hector. In the letter which he addreſſed to the Eaſt-India company, he firſt mentions this calamity, and next declares that they had every reaſon to be convinced that his intentions, by thus venturing his own life, and the lives of all the crew, were to preſerve (if ſuch a circumſtance could be poſſible,) the ſhip, and cargo. Although ſeveral paſſages which he wrote bore evident marks of confuſion, yet they were equally deſcriptive of his intrepidity, and zeal in the ſervice of his employers. The poſtſcript of his letter is of too ſingular a nature to be omitted.

"The paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies lies in ſixty-two "degrees, and thirty minutes, by the North-Weſt, "and on the American ſide."

From Saint Helena, where the Dragon was refitted, and all the ſhips received a ſupply of freſh proviſions, and other neceſſaries, the admiral, and his aſſociates, ſet ſail for England. On the twelfth of Auguſt, they paſſed the Tropic of Cancer, and, on the eleventh of Septem-

September, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, arrived ſafely in the Downs. After this event, Lancaſter retired to the calmer ſcenes of private life, and, during a courſe of thirty years, enjoyed the advantages reſulting from the riches which were the fruits of this celebrated, and important enterprize (*e*).

(*e*) The particulars of this voyage to the Eaſt-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 57, 58, 59.—Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 708.—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p. 147.—Campbell's lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585, 586—and Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 1. p. 376, 377, 378, 379, 380.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir RICHARD GREENVILLE.

IN the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, this illuſtrious ſeaman, of high deſcent, but more exalted by his public virtues, prepared for an expedition to Virginia. The veſſels which he equipped were the Tiger, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Lion, of the burthen of an hundred tons; the Elizabeth, of the burthen of fifty tons; the Roebuck, a fly-boat, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Dorothy, a ſmall bark; and two pinnaces, The chief perſons ſerving immediately under Sir Richard, were Mr. Ralph Lane, Mr. Thomas Cavendiſh, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Heryot, and Mr. John Clarke. Of theſe, a part were captains, and the reſt, members of the council.

On the ninth of April, theſe adventurers ſet ſail from Portſmouth, and, on the fourteenth, fell in with the Canaries On the ſeventh of May, they arrived at Dominica, in the Weſt-Indies, and diſembarked at

Puerto

Puerto Rico, where they continued during a conſiderable ſpace of time, raiſed a fort, conſtructed a pinnace, and gained ſome advantages over the Spaniards. At their departure from this place, they intercepted, and took two richly-freighted veſſels, on their paſſage from Europe, and, in the ſervice of the king of Spain. On board, were ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, and fortune, whoſe liberty the Engliſh placed at a large ranſom. After having been expoſed to ſome obſtacles, they reached the harbour of Iſabella, ſituated to the Northward of Hiſpaniola. Here, they traded with the Spaniards, who, fearful of offending them, refrained from the commiſſion of hoſtilities. On the twentieth of June, they made the continent of Florida, but were in danger of being ſeparated by the violence of a ſtorm, at Cape Fear. On the twenty-ſixth, they caſt anchor, at the iſland of Wokoken, in Virginia, where, through the miſconduct of the pilot, the Tiger, the admiral-ſhip, was loſt.

At this place, Mr. Lane diſembarked, with one hundred, and eight men, and all neceſſaries, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a colony. He was inveſted with the dignity of chief governour of the ſettlement, and immediately under him were Mr. Philip Amidas, and nineteen officers of diſtinction. At this place, Sir Richard ſtayed no longer than two months, after which period, having made more diſcoveries in the ſound, and towards the ſouthward, he prepared for a return to England, with a valuable cargo, conſiſting of ſkins, furs, pearls, and other articles which had been received in exchange for ſome of the leaſt important commodities of Europe.

On his paſſage homewards, this illuſtrious adventurer intercepted, and took a Spaniſh ſhip, richly freighted, and of the burthen of three hundred tons; a prize,

prize ſufficiently valuable to indemnify him, for the expences of his enterprize, and with which he arrived at Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred and eighty-five. The meaſures purſued by the new coloniſts immediately after his departure from the iſland of Wokoken, are, in this place, foreign to our purpoſe. We, therefore, proceed to a detail of other events more particularly connected with the ſubject of this memoir (*a*).

Sir Richard Greenville is here mentioned in a ſeparate relation (*b*), becauſe a late excellent hiſtorian (*c*), who, on moſt occaſions, took fire, at the recital of the gallant conduct of a naval officer, informs us of the memorable event which was attended with the death of this celebrated hero, in a ſtyle ſo cold, and unaffecting, that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover whether he thought ſuch bravery, intitled to applauſe, or deſerving of our cenſure (*d*).

In the narrative of the attack of the Spaniſh armada, under the command of Don Antonio Batſana, this writer (*e*) obſerves that (the vice-admiral under the

(*a*) The particulars relating to the voyage to Virginia are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1645.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 251.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 5.—Introduction to a Collection of Voyages, 6 vol. in folio.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio. p. 203, 204.

(*b*) See the 312th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

(*d*) It was the opinion of the lord high-admiral Howard that a portion of intrepid frenzy was requiſite to qualify a man for a ſuperior ſtation in the ſea-ſervice. Sir Richard ſeems to have approached neareſt to the true ſpirit of this idea; and, therefore, was (if the maxim be incontrovertible,) the moſt accompliſhed naval commander mentioned in the annals of our hiſtory,

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

lord Thomas Howard,) Sir Richard Greenville, in the Revenge "was taken through his own obſtinacy; for, "when the enemy was in ſight, he would not be per-"ſuaded that it was the armada, but inſiſted that it was "the American fleet, and ſo was ſurrounded. He ſold "his life, and his ſhip (which was the only one of the "queen's taken in the war,) dearly; for, a man of "war, called the Aſcenſion, and a double fly-boat, full "of men, ſunk by his ſide. The Revenge was ſo bat-"tered that ſhe could not be carried to Spain, but foun-"dered at ſea, with two hundred Spaniards on board; "and as for Sir Richard, he died two days after of his "wounds."

It would, perhaps, be a greater juſtice to the memory of this exalted hero, ſhould we inform the reader that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-one, Sir Richard Greenville, in the Revenge, was engaged alone with the whole Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of fifty-three ſhips, on board of which were ten thouſand men, including officers, mariners, and ſoldiers. From the hour of three, in the afternoon, until the day-break of the following morning, this intrepid commander repulſed the enemy fifteen times, although they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. At the commencement of the action, he received a wound; yet he remained on deck, buſied in the performance of his duty until eleven at night, when, being again maimed, he was carried down in order that he might be dreſſed. At this juncture, he received a ſhot in the head, and, ſoon afterwards, the ſurgeon was ſlain by his ſide. The powder was now nearly expended, and the ſmall arms were either broken, or become uſeleſs. Of all the crew, which, previous to the battle, amounted to one hundred, and three perſons, forty

were

were killed, and a great number of the reſt wounded. every maſt had been ſhot away, the rigging was cut to pieces, and only the hulk, which it was impoſſible to navigate, remained intire. At this alarming criſis, Sir Richard propoſed to his aſſociates rather to truſt to the mercy of GOD than become the priſoners of the Spaniards, and exhorted them to ſet fire to the ſhip, and periſh, unconquered, amidſt the flames. To this equally deſperate, and aſtoniſhing reſolution, the maſter-gunner, and ſeveral of the mariners immediately agreed, but the reſt oppoſed it, and compelled Sir Richard to ſurrender to the Spaniards (*f*). Soon afterwards, he expired; and theſe were the laſt words of an hero whoſe name will be reverenced by Engliſhmen, whilſt any trace of public virtue ſhall remain amongſt them.

"Here die, I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful, "and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a "true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, "queen, religion, and honour. My ſoul willingly "departs this body, leaving behind the laſting fame "of having behaved as every valiant ſoldier is, in his "duty, bound to do (*g*)."

(*f*) During this engagement, the enemy loſt four ſhips, and nearly a thouſand men. The Revenge ſunk ſoon afterwards; and, in her, periſhed two hundred Spaniards.

(*g*) Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 2. Part 2. p. 169.—Camden, p. 565.—Sir William Manſon's naval Tracts.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1678.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 274, 275.

MEMOIRS

OF

HENRY MAY.

THIS adventurer, one of the aſſociates of captain Lancaſter, during his voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, was ſent by that officer from Hiſpaniola, on board of a French veſſel, commanded by Monſieur de la Barbotiere, in order that the merchants might be informed of his diſtreſs.

On the thirtieth of November, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Henry May departed from the port of Laguna, in Hiſpaniola, and, on the ſeventeenth of the following month, was caſt away on the north-weſt extremity of the Bermudas. At noon, the pilots, at once intoxicated, and totally inattentive to their duty, perſiſted in declaring that the ſhip was twelve leagues to the ſothward of the iſlands; an error which proved fatal not only to themſelves, but to the majority of the crew, amongſt whom only twenty-ſix, including May, were ſaved.

After having obtained ſome proviſions on the largeſt of theſe iſlands, which is called the Iſland of Saint

George, our adventurer, and his fellow-ſufferers embraced the earlieſt opportunity which was afforded by the turn of fair weather, and endeavoured to get off their ſhattered veſſel, and ſave ſuch of her materials as might prove of ſervice. They were ſo far ſucceſsful in this attempt as to ſecure the tools belonging to the carpenter, ſome iron work, together with all the ſails, and a great part of the tackling. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of lime, tempered with the oil of tortoiſes; and this ſerved as a kind of Plaiſter, with which May, and one of his aſſociates payed the ſeams of their new veſſel (*a*), whilſt the carpenter calked her. The heat of the weather proved favourable to their operations, and this cement not only dried in a ſhort time, but quickly became as impenetrable as a ſtone.

Theſe adventurers next made two large cheſts, which, having been calked in the ſame manner as the ſhip, were filled with water, (in which ſwam thirteen tortoiſes,) and then placed on each ſide of the main-maſt. This iſland abounded more with hogs than any other animals; but theſe were ſo lean, and filthy, that it was impoſſible to eat them. The chief aliment of the Engliſh conſiſted of the tops of the Palmeto-Berries. Of theſe, they made bread. The juice which flowed from the ſame tree, became their liquor; and, with the leaves, which were more than an ell in length, they covered their cabins, and formed their beds.

On the eleventh of May, and after they had remained during five months upon the iſland, they ſet ſail, and on the twentieth, reached Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, from whence, after having procured a ſup-

(*a*) It was conſtructed with cedar which they had felled on the iſland.

ſupply of wood, and water, together with ſuch commodities as the ſavages were inclined to relinquiſh in exchange for trifling articles of European merchandize, they departed for the bank. Here, they were joined by ſeveral Engliſh veſſels; and, in one of theſe, Henry May arrived at Falmouth, towards the middle of the month of Auguſt, and in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four (*b*).

It was on this occaſion that the Engliſh received the firſt intelligence concerning the Bermudas, or Sommer-iſlands. Whence they derived their names, is gathered from the writings of an hiſtorian (*c*) whoſe labours have been often ſerviceable to the collector of theſe memoirs.

It is very probable that although the Engliſh were not the firſt diſcoverers of theſe iſlands, yet they were the firſt inhabitants of them, as they were ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from any part of the continent of America, that the Indians, who were ignorant of navigation, could not poſſibly have ſailed to them.

Various are the reports concerning the reaſons why theſe iſlands obtained the name of Bermudas. By ſome hiſtorians they have been called the Iſlands of Hogs; and Oviedas remarks that when he approached the Bermudas, he conceived a deſign of ſetting ſome hogs aſhore, in order that the breed might be increaſed; but the ſhip was driven from the place, during the violence of a ſtorm, nor did he again attempt to reach it.

The moſt probable account is, that theſe iſlands obtained their names from one John de Bermudas,

(*b*) Smith's General hiſtory of Virginia, p. 172.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 2. p. 361.—Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 302.

(*c*) Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 301.

who diſcovered them on his voyage to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and, at a period ſeveral years prior to the ſhipwreck of Henry May. It hath been remarked by ſome writers, that this adventurer landed on them; yet, allowing that they took their name from him, this circumſtance appears improbable. Another auther (*d*) affirms that they were ſo called from a Spaniſh ſhip, the Bermudas, which was wrecked on the iſland, and laden with hogs, for the Weſt-Indies. Theſe ſwam aſhore, and, afterwards, increaſed to an amazing number. How the Spaniards eſcaped from thence is uncertain; yet, we may infer that the Spaniards landed there, not willingly, but, either to avoid the violence of a tempeſt, or after having ſuffered ſhipwreck. Several croſſes, pieces of Spaniſh money, and commodities which muſt have been maufactured in Europe, were found upon the place. Wrecks of ſhips had been obſerved floating on the water, and broken pieces of maſts were diſcovered lying within the cavities of the rocks. Amongſt theſe materials, ſeveral appeared to have belonged either to the Spaniards, the Dutch, the Portugueſe, or the French.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-two, Philip, king of Spain, aſſigned them over to Ferdinando del Camelo; but this favourite never entered into poſſeſſion of the gift. They obtained the name of Sommer Iſlands, from Sir George Sommers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, was ſhipwrecked on the ſpot, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine.

(*a*) Smith's General Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 172.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM PARKER.

IN the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſix, this brave officer (a native of Plymouth,) equipped, at his own expence, a veſſel, called the Prudence, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, and the Adventure, a bark, of the burthen of twenty-five tons, and commanded by Richard Hen. With theſe, on board of which were an hundred choſen mariners, he, in the month of November, in the ſame year, ſet ſail from Plymouth.

The firſt place at which they touched, in the Weſt-Indies, was the iſland of Margarita, on the coaſt of the continent, where they took a Spaniſh gentleman, and other perſons, priſoners, whom they ſoon afterwards exchanged for Mr. James Willis, and other Engliſhmen, who had been detained, in confinement, at Cumana. From Margarita, they proceeded to Jamaica, where they joined Sir Anthony Shirley, who, not long before, had taken the chief town of the iſland. They next ſailed, on the ſixth of March, in the year, one thouſand,

ſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſeven, towards the cape of Honduras; having formed a deſign of ſurprizing the ſtrong fortreſs of Truxillo. On the thirty-firſt, they ventured within cannon-ſhot of it, but, perceiving that their intentions were diſcovered, and having cauſe to imagine that an enterprize of this nature could not be attended with ſucceſs, departed, on the ſecond of April, farther up the gulph, and, on the ſeventh, attacked, and reduced Puerto de Cavallos. The plunder, on this occaſion, proved more inconſiderable than, from a previous information, they had reaſon to expect.

Theſe adventurers next formed a deſign of proceeding, by land, towards the ſouth ſea, and had conſtructed a pinnace which might be taken into ſix pieces, and, when neceſſary, fitted together by ſcrews. Various, and unforeſeen obſtacles, rendered this project abortive, and they returned to Truxillo; from whence Sir Anthony ſailed alone.

Captain Parker now directed his courſe to Cape de Catoche, which is ſituated eaſtward of Jucatan, and cruized along the northern part of the promontory, as far as Cape Deſconoſcido. Here he entered, with fifty-ſix of the crew, into a Periago, or long Indian canoe, and leaving the ſhip, at the diſtance of three leagues, proceeded, at the hour of three in the morning, to the town of Campeche, which he ſurprized, and took. During the action, the governor of the place, and the alcaide were made priſoners. Theſe advantages reflect more honour on the Engliſh, as five hundred Spaniards were within the place, and eight thouſand Indians dwelled at the two adjacent towns. When the Spaniards, who fled on the firſt aſſault, had recovered from their terror, they poured down in multitudes, and, with great fury, upon the ſmall company of the

Eng-

Engliſh, the captain of whom was wounded in the breaſt, and five of his aſſociates were killed in the firſt moment of the attack. At this juncture, captain Parker, and his companions, ſecured the bodies of the dead, and, recurring to a ſucceſsful ſtratagem, made an honourable retreat, under flying colours, and with beat of drum. Having taken priſoners ſeveral of the townſmen, they bound them together by a cord, and placed them in front, in order that they might receive the fire of the Spaniards, who deſiſted from hoſtilities, when they foreſaw that the conſequences might be fatal to their own party.

Having reached the haven, the Engliſh ſeized a frigate, on board of which were many valuable articles of merchandize, excluſive of the tribute belonging to the king of Spain, valued at five thouſand pounds Sterling, and intended to be tranſported to Saint Juan de Ulloa. When this prize had been taken in tow by the Periago, and left in charge with the firſt lieutenant of the Prudence, captain Parker, and his aſſociates, paſſed over to the oppoſite ſhore, where they reduced to aſhes the Indian town of Sebo, and carried off from the adjacent country Campeche wood, wax, and honey. As the Engliſh paſſed near Cape de Cotoche, the Spaniards, in two frigates, which had been fitted out at Campeche, took the Adventure, and, having erected a gallows, executed captain Hen, and thirteen of his crew. The Prudence returned to Plymouth, at the beginning of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and nine-ſix (*a*).

The next important expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was for the purpoſe of annoying

(*a*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 602.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 351.

ing the Spaniards, and the Portugueſe, in the Weſt-Indies. The fleet equipped conſiſted only of two ſmall ſhips, a pinnace, and two ſhallops, commanded in chief by Parker, under whom the captains Edward Giles, and Philip Ward, acted as land-officers, and the captains, Fugars, Loriman, Aſhley, and other gentlemen, as volunteers. The veſſels were the Prudence, admiral, of the burthen of an hundred tons, and manned with an hundred, and thirty perſons, including officers, and mariners; the Pearl, vice-admiral, of the burthen of ſixty tons, having ſixty, men, and being commanded by Robert Rawlins; the pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, and manned with eighteen ſailors.

In November of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and one, theſe adventurers departed from Plymouth, and proceeded ſafely to the ſouth cape, where a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which they loſt their pinnace, and all the men belonging to it, excepting three. From hence, they directed their courſe towards the iſlands of Cape de Verd, on one of which, called Saint Vincent, captain Parker diſembarked, and, at the head of an hundred men, attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to aſhes.

They next paſſed over to the coaſt of the continent, and when they had reached La Rancharia, or the pearl fiſhery, in the ſmall iſland of Cubagua, they prepared to land, for the purpoſe of attacking the fortreſs; an enterprize from which they were not deterred, although informed that the governour of Cumana, and a large body of troops were in readineſs to defend the place. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, the Spaniards yielded, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs, made ſeveral priſoners, and ſecured the barks,

barks, and boats, all of which were ranſomed with the value of five hundred pounds, in pearl.

From hence, captain Parker and his aſſociates, ſailed immediately for Cape de la Vela, where they intercepted, and took, a large Portugueſe ſhip, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and bound from Angola, and Cango, to Carthagena. On board, excluſive of an inconſiderable Cargo, were three hundred, and ſeventy negroes, for which, together with the veſſel, a ranſom was accepted, amounting to five hundred pounds. The Engliſh next proceeded to the iſland of Cabecas, where an hundred men, under the command of Parker, ſailed, in two ſmall pinnaces, and two ſhallops, to the iſland dos Baſtimentos. Here they landed, and having prevailed on ſome negroes to be their guides, returned on board, and, on the ſeventh of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, entered the river of Puerto Bello. As the moon ſhone when they approached the haven, they were diſcerned, and hailed by the ſentinels, poſted near the ſtrong caſtle of Saint Philip, in which were a powerful body of troops, and thirty-five pieces of braſs artillery. On board of the Prudence, were ſome mariners who underſtood Spaniſh, and theſe were ordered, by captain Parker, to anſwer, in that language, that they were the ſubjects of Philip, engaged in his ſervice, and then arrived from Carthagena. The commanding officer at the caſtle directed that they ſhould come immediately to an anchor. They obeyed, but, in leſs than an hour from this event, a choſen party of thirty men, headed by their chief, quitted the pinnaces, and entering within the boats, proceeded to the town of Triana, where, notwithſtanding that an alarm had been given, they diſembarked, and having

ſet

ſet fire to the place, marched, unreſiſted, to the adjacent large, and rich town of Puerto Bello.

As they approached the royal treaſury, they obſerved a body of ſoldiers, and two braſs field-pieces, well mounted on their carriages, and drawn up in readineſs for action. The firſt diſcharge of fire-arms proceeded from the Spaniards, at which inſtant both parties engaged with equal fury, until at length, ſeveral of the Engliſh were ſlain; and the reſt muſt have ſubmitted, if the captains Fugar, and Loriman, (commanders of the pinnaces,) hearing the report of guns, had not haſtened with an hundred, and twenty of their aſſociates, to the ſupport of Parker. This unexpected relief procured the Engliſh a deciſive victory, and the Spaniards attempted to preſerve themſelves, by flight. Several entered within the palace, and, being purſued, made a gallant, but ineffectual reſiſtance. Ten thouſand ducats were ſeized within the treaſury, by Parker, and his aſſociates, who had reaſon to lament that they were not ſo fortunate as to have conquered the place, in the preceding week, when the treaſure contained within the royal coffers amounted to one hundred, and twenty thouſand ducats, and afterwards compoſed a part of the lading of two frigates, which had ſailed for Carthagena. The inconſiderable quantity of money, plate, and merchandize, ſeized within the town, was divided amongſt the ſoldiers, and Parker reſerved only two light tranſports, which were taken up the river.

When this brave adventurer had kept poſſeſſion of the town during two days, he, in that ſpirit of humanity which, at an Æra when conquerors were generally unmerciful, muſt have reflected the brighteſt luſtre on his character, gave orders that no buildings what-

whatſoever ſhould be ſet on fire; and ſatisfied with the honour of having reduced one of the fineſt towns in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, by the aſſiſtance of a ſmall force, releaſed the priſoners, (amonſt whom were Don Pedro de Melandez, the governour; his ſecretary, and ſeveral officers of diſtinguiſhed rank,) and generouſly refuſed to accept of the ranſoms which they offered. Such a conduct ſhould have ſecured him from the future inſults of the Spaniards; yet, at his departure, they diſcharged their artillery at his ſhips, and endeavoured, but in vain, to diſable them from ſailing.

On the ſixth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, this intropid adventurer, and his aſſociates, returned to Plymouth-Harbour, and landed amidſt crouds of people, who loudly teſtified their approbation of a conduct which even enemies had mentioned with applauſe (*b*).

(*b*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 747.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1243.—Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 1. p. 380, 381.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The FIFTH PERIOD.

From the ACCESSION of JAMES, the FIRST, to the DEMISE of CHARLES the FIRST.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of JAMES, the FIRST.

UNDER the neceſſity of confining ourſelves, through the ſucceeding part of this work, almoſt excluſively to the relation of naval, and commercial events, we ſhall not enter into the leaſt detail concerning a multitude of circumſtances which attended the commencement of the reign of James, but proceed to an enumeration of Occurrences more immediately connected with our ſubject.

At the acceſſion (*a*) of this monarch, a ſquadron (*b*), under the joint command of Sir Richard Leviſon,

(*a*) March 24, 1602.

(*b*) The chief ſhips were the Repulſe, the Mary-Honora, the Defiance, the Warſpight, the Rainbow, the Dreadnought,

and Sir William Monſon, was cruizing near the coaſt, but, on the day after the deceaſe of Elizabeth, approached the Downs, where an expreſs arrived from the privy council, which directed the admirals to prepare, with all the ſhips, for a vigorous defence againſt the expected attacks of the French, and Spaniards. The people were, notwithſtanding, agreeably convinced, by the early, and peaceable declarations of foreign powers, that this alarm was groundleſs; and James, who received aſſurances that the court of France was not inclined to call his right in queſtion, and that the archduke had given proofs (*c*) of his attachment to the Engliſh, iſſued orders for the fleet to ſail immediately to Chatham, and caſt anchor within the harbour (*d*).

Previous to the concluſion of this year, ſeveral merchants, belonging to the port of Briſtol, entered into a ſubſcription for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of a voyage to the northern diſtrict of Virginia. Having obtained a letter of licence from Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Elizabeth had granted an excluſive patent, they equipped, with a diſburſement from their ſtock, which amounted to a thouſand pounds, two veſſels; the Speedwell, of the burthen of fifty tons, commanded by captain Martin Pring, under

nought, the Quittance, and the Lion's Whelp. Of theſe, the commanding officers were Sir Richard Leviſon, Sir William Monſon, and the captains Gore, Seymour, Trevor, Reynolds, Howard, and Polewheele.

(*c*) He revoked his letters of repriſal againſt the Engliſh, and iſſued an edict for the eſtabliſhment of a free, and lawful traffic into Flanders; a privilege from which the merchants of Elizabeth had been debarred, throughout a war which laſted until the expiration of eighteen years.

(*d*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 510 —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 4.

der whom were thirty officers; and the Diſcoverer, Martin Brown, maſter, together with a mate, and eleven mariners, including boys. On board, were proviſions ſufficient for the conſumption of eight months, and all kinds of apparel, tools, and trinkets, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a commerce with the natives of thoſe countries which it was deſigned to viſit.

On the tenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, theſe adventurers, accompanied by Robert Saltern, the chief director of the enterprize, ſet ſail from Milford-Haven, and, having paſſed the Azores, approached, during the month of June, and, in the latitude of forty-three degrees, a Multitude of ſmall iſlands, on the northern coaſt of Virginia, all of which, and likewiſe the oppoſite continent, they carefully ſurveyed, but, as they were unable to diſcover any inhabitants, or procure ſaſſafras, the chief commodity in ſearch of which they diſembarked, captain Pring gave orders that they ſhould proceed to Savage-Rock. Here, they deſcried ſome inhabitants on the main land, but could not find any ſaſſafras. They, therefore, departed from this place, and bore into the great gulph which Goſnoll (*e*) had overſhot in the preceding year. They now diſcovered people, on the northern, and ſouthern ſides of it, and nearly in forty-eight degrees. To this place, where they obtained an interview with the natives, and deſigned to take in their cargo, they gave the name of Whitſun-Bay.

Toward the concluſion of the month of July, the Diſcoverer, having been freighted with ſaſſafras, proceeded on her voyage homewards, and, in fourteen days from this period, was followed by the Speedwell,

(*e*) See the 428th. 429th. and 430th. pages of the ſecond volume of this work.

laden with the ſame commodity. On the ſecond of October, the veſſels arrived at Kingrode, but brought nothing remarkable from the country to which they had ſailed, except one of the boats uſed by the natives. It was conſtructed with the barks of birch-trees, faſtened by twigs, and the ſeams were payed with turpentine. Although ſeventy feet in length, four in breadth, and capable of carrying four perſons, the weight of it did not exceed ſixty pounds (*f*).

The next naval expedition was undertaken in the Elizabeth, of London, a bark of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who, in the preceding year, had accompanied Goſnoll to Virginia. On the tenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, this adventurer, and his aſſociates, departed from Plymouth, and, in their paſſage, traded at Saint Lucia, Dominica, and Nevis, on the laſt of which iſlands they cut nearly twenty tons of lignum vitæ. From hence, they ſet ſail (*g*) towards the coaſt of Virginia, intending to touch at Chefepeak-Bay, for the purpoſe of inquiring whether the perſons whom Sir Walter Raleigh had left on the adjacent land, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, were yet living. On the twenty-fifth of July, they approached the mouth of the bay, but were prevented from entering it by the violence of a contrary wind, which ſoon afterwards obliged them to bear more to the eaſtward.

On the twenty-ninth, and when the Engliſh were at a ſhort diſtance from the land, Gilbert, accompanied by ſix of the moſt reſolute of his aſſociates, rowed towards

(*f*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1654.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 18.—Harris's Collect. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.

(*g*) July 3d.

wards an apparently unfrequented part of the country, and, diſembarking, with three others, marched, under arms, through a large wood, at the extremity of which they were attacked, and overpowered by the inhabitants, who ſlew the whole party, and immediately afterwards ran in purſuit of the two Engliſhmen who were left to take care of the boat, and who, with difficulty, reached the ſhip, and informed the crew of the melancholy fate of their companions.

Intimidated by this event, Henry Sute, the maſter of the Elizabeth, who now aſſumed the command, and had, under him, only eleven mariners, including boys, prepared for an immediate return to England, and, notwithſtanding that the wood, and water were almoſt expended, weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea. No remarkable occurrence aroſe during the voyage, which was concluded by the arrival of the veſſel, at the mouth of the Thames, on the thirtieth of September, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three (*h*).

It may, in this place, be neceſſary to acquaint the reader that a naval hiſtorian (*i*) makes mention of a voyage of diſcovery towards the north, performed in a ſhip called the Grace, of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Stephen Bennet, who ſailed as far as ſeventy-four degrees, and thirty minutes (*k*). Concerning this enterprize, we meet with no remarkable particulars, and it is only neceſſary to add that it was the firſt voyage to Cherie iſland, a name bor-

(*h*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1656.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.

(*i*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 566.

(*k*) A. D. 1603.

rowed from that of the adventurer who bore the expence of the diſcovery.

The diſcerning writer (*l*) whom we have taken for our guide, obſerves that the acceſſion of James furniſhed the houſe of Auſtria with a favourable opportunity to terminate the tedious war with England; becauſe, during that time, they had been at amity with Scotland (*m*). Immediately after the arrival of the king at London, he was waited on by an ambaſſador from the arch-duke, in conſequence of whoſe negociations, a peace took place between the Engliſh and the Spaniards (*n*) Several hiſtorians of that Æra remark that the ſucceſs of it was owing to the enormous bribes which were given to all the miniſters of the king, but eſpecially to the counteſs of Suffolk, who had prevailed on her huſband to intereſt himſelf in this cauſe, and to the earl of Northumberland, who had laboured to promote it, by every mean within his power. From ſuch gratuities we are informed that theſe lords drew conſiderable reſources for the conſtruction of Audley-End, in Eſſex; and Northumberland-Houſe, in the Strand (*o*). On this occaſion, even the lord high-admiral, Nottingham, did not eſcape cenſure, and inſinuations were thrown out that he accepted

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 5.

(*m*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 229.—Sully's Memoirs, V. 3. B. 14, 15.—Wilſon, p. 673.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 825.—Speed, p. 884.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 3.

(*o*) Oſborne's traditional Memoirs of the reign of James, V. 2. p. 105.—Sir Anthony Weldon's court, and character of James, p. 26, 27.—Hiſtorical View of the Negociations between the courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the manuſcript State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, by Doctor Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

cepted of ample bribes. Our hiſtorian (*p*) deems it more reaſonable to conclude that this peace was the effect of the king's inclination, ſupported by the advice of his moſt eminent ſtateſmen, ſome of whom were known to have approved of this meaſure, during the reign of his predeceſſor (*q*). A treaty of alliance, and one alſo of commerce, were ſigned at London, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, in the year, one Thouſand, ſix hundred, and four (*r*), in the preſence of the conſtable of Caſtile, the firſt ſubject in Spain, who was ſent to England, purpoſely that he might bear witneſs to this event. The ſatisfaction which the commercial part of the nation at firſt received from the concluſion of the treaties was afterwards much abated by the ſingular, and impolitic conduct of the king. He eſtabliſhed a company of merchants, to whom were granted an excluſive privilege of managing the Spaniſh commerce; a meaſure which gave an offence equally juſt, and univerſal, for, as the whole nation had borne the charges of the war, and trade in general had ſuffered in conſequence of it, what could be more reaſonable than that the benefits of peace ſhould prove intirely as diffuſive? This Evil was, notwithſtanding, of ſhort continuance, and the parliament repreſented in ſuch ſtriking colours, to James, the miſchiefs which would inevitably enſue from ſo odious a monopoly, that he ſubmitted to the diſſolution of the recently erected company, and left the Spaniſh trade quite open to all his ſubjects (*s*).

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 6.

(*q*) Life of lord Burleigh, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, p. 54.

(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 16. p. 579, 596.—Stowe's Annals, p. 346.

(*s*) Detection of the Court and State of England, by Roger Coke, Eſquire, p. 27. Edit. 1696.—Act 3. James I. C. 6.

It muſt however, adds the ſame writer (*t*), be acknowledged that a powerful party oppoſed the concluſion of this peace, and, inceſſantly, publiſhed their diſlike of it, and apprehenſions of the effects which might enſue, even after it had taken place (*u*). The point was certainly of high importance, or it could not have been ſo warmly canvaſſed, during that Æra, or ſo differently diſcuſſed at a later period when modern hiſtorians diſſented as violently as his contemporaries relative to the policy purſued by James, on this occaſion. Although a full inveſtigation of the point might lead us too far from our preſcribed limits, yet we muſt accede to the opinion (*x*) that to paſs it intirely over would be wrong, conſidering the near relation which it bears to the ſubject of this work. With our authority (*y*) we ſhall reſt contented with ſtating the moſt concluſive reaſons that have been offered againſt the peace, as they were drawn up by the maſterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the replies thereto, both of which we leave to the conſideration of the reader, unwilling to treſpaſs on his patience with any comments of our own (*z*).

Theſe reaſons (which are five in number,) turn chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue

C. 6. It is here obſerved that ſuch a monopoly tended to abate the prices of Engliſh wools, and cloths.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(*u*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 75, 93, 101.—Wilſon.—Oſborne.

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Theſe which were poſſibly the very points of his memorial to the king, againſt the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter Raleigh's Dialogue between a recuſant, and a Jeſuit, amongſt the genuine remains, publiſhed at the end of an abridgment of his hiſtory of the world, by Philip Raleigh, Eſquire, 8vo. p. 1700.

nue the war, and the immenſe profits which he was likely to reap from the concluſion of the peace. Firſt, Sir Walter alledged that "his Catholic Majeſty had ſo "exhauſted his treaſure that he was no longer able "to maintain the army of the archduke in Flanders." To this it was anſwered that the fact was very doubtful, eſpecially if the king of Spain was in a condition to beſtow thoſe immenſe bribes which were ſuppoſed to have been diſtributed at the time when this peace was made. Secondly, "the interruption of his trade, "and the loſſes of his merchants were ſo great as to "break his two banks, at Seville." It was granted that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſuffered exceſſively by the continuance of this war, yet it did not follow that the Engliſh reaped advantages in proportion; neither was it clear that if his Catholic Majeſty had been ruined, the king of Great Britain, or his ſubjects, could have become gainers. Thirdly, Sir Walter, felt "apprehenſions that the Engliſh, and Netherlanders "would plant in the Weſt-Indies." It was objected that if this fear drove him to grant the Engliſh better terms, the advantage became theirs; if not, they could have obtained little by ſettling in thoſe parts of America which were claimed by Spain; and it was never alleged that the Engliſh made this war, in order to extend the trade, or to procure countries for the Dutch. Fourthly, it was obſerved that "the king of "Spain made this peace to recruit his own coffers, "and to enable himſelf to break into the war again." To this it was anſwered that to judge by what was paſt, ſuch could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be ſuppoſed that Spain would ſoon recover as great ſtrength as ſhe enjoyed at the commencement of the war, when yet ſhe was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herſelf againſt the Engliſh.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Sir Walter remarked than "the king of "Spain took this ſtep, that the Engliſh might decline, "and forget the paſſages, and pilotage to the Weſt-"Indies, and their ſea-officers be worn out; for, ex-"cept a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ſhip "that ſails that way; and ſeeing that the Spaniards "may hang up the Engliſh, or put them to death, by "torments, as they do, and that the Engliſh dare not "offend the Spaniards in thoſe parts, a moſt notable "advantage is gotten in the concluſion of the peace! "It is certain that the Engliſh will give over the navi-"gation, to the infinite advantage of the Spaniſh king, "both preſent and future."

Relatively to this ſubject, a naval hiſtorian (*a*) obſerves that experience ſhewed that the deduction of Raleigh, although plauſible, was not true; for, in conſequence of this peace, many plantations were ſettled by the Engliſh, and their trade to America, in particular, as well as their commerce in general, flouriſhed beyond the example of former times. He judiciouſly adds that inſtead of objections which are eaſily framed againſt the beſt meaſures, by men of quick parts, and great political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpoſe to have ſhewn what advantages the Engliſh were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at laſt, than by ſuch a peace as was now made.

This treaty, which was received with ſuch diſſatisfaction at home, proved equally the cauſe of murmurs in ſeveral of the ſtates abroad (*b*). The Hollanders,

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 9.

(*b*) Birch's view of the negociations between England, France, and Bruſſels, p. 287.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 2.

ers, who were now left deprived of that ſupport which reſults from a powerful alliance, and who had reaped ſuch important advantages from the favour of Elizabeth, were exceedingly irritated at a meaſure which tended ſo cloſely to their immediate prejudice: As they were ſtill ſufficiently formidable not only to cope with the Spaniards, but alſo to make a greater figure than moſt other nations, on the ocean, they loſt that reſpect which was due to the Britiſh flag, and began to aſſume a kind of equality, even in the narrow ſeas. This was quickly repreſented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monſon, who received inſtructions to maintain the honour of the Britiſh flag, and that ſuperiority which the ſovereigns of England (the anceſtors of James,) had enjoyed on their ſurrounding ocean (*e*). This fleet firſt put to ſea in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and four, and cruized annually under the ſame admiral, who ſeems to have been an officer of ſingular intrepidity, and great experience, and (as we learn from his memoirs,) ſerved in the firſt man of war fitted out in the reign of Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the laſt fleet

2. p. 453, 454.—Mr. Campbell * obſerves that, by comparing theſe books, the reader will ſee that king James was not ſo puſillanimous a prince, in reſpect to foreign affairs, as he is generally repreſented, but had ſpirit enough to demand ſatisfaction for an inſinuation of this ſort, by prince Maurice, to the ſtates, and ſteadineſs enough to inſiſt upon, and obtain it.

* Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 10.

(*e*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 27, 34, 36, 55.—Sir Anthony Weldon's Court, and Character of King James, p. 48 49.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 237.—Rapin, V. 2. p. 170.

fleet which that princeſs ſent to ſea. Under all theſe advantageous circumſtances, he, notwithſtanding, felt a difficulty in executing his commiſſion. Whenſoever he conferred with the chief officers of the Dutch ſhips, they anſwered in the moſt ſoothing language, and promiſed that their future conduct ſhould be regulated by a full ſubmiſſion to the naval ſuperiority of the Engliſh; yet, ſoon afterwards, in open violation of their engagements, they ſeized the veſſels in the ſervice of James, on the moſt frivolous pretences, and treated the crews with an unexampled ſeverity, until the admiral, incenſed by theſe daring provocations, began to make repriſals, and threatened to hang, as pirates, individuals whoſe actions had already denoted them to be lawleſs. At this period, alſo, warm conteſts aroſe relative to the ſuperiority of the flag, and originated from ſome inſtances of temporary reſpect ſhewn to the Hollanders, during the preceding reign, when they ſailed on joint expeditions, under the command of Engliſh admirals, and were, on that account, treated as if they had been the natural born ſubjects of Elizabeth; a favour which they now pretended to claim as a prerogative due to them, in quality of an independent ſtate (*d*).

It is needleſs to apologize for the inſertion of an extract from the words of Sir William Monſon, as they are ſo ſtrikingly deſcriptive of the ſpirit with which that juſtly celebrated officer inſiſted on ſatisfaction from the Dutch, in conſequence of which the right of the Engliſh flag, which hath been ſo firmly ſupported on every later occaſion, was eſtabliſhed with regard to

(*d*) Seldeni Mare Clauſum, lib. 2. cap. 26.—Molloy de Jure Maritimo. Tit. Flag.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 11.

to this republic. We introduce a narrative of this memorable event, the rather (to uſe the words of an excellent hiſtorian (*e*),) becauſe there are multitudes who will ſcarcely believe that matters of this nature were carried ſo far (perhaps, as far as they were carried,) under ſo pacific a prince as James.

"In my return from Calais, on the firſt of July, in "the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, with "the emperor's ambaſſador, as I approached near "Dover Road, I perceived an increaſe of ſix ſhips to "thoſe which I left there three days before, one of "them being the admiral. Their coming in ſhew "was to beleaguer the Spaniards, who were then at "Dover."

"As I drew near them, the admiral ſtruck his "flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming "from the other coaſt, at ſuch a time, cauſed me to "make another conſtruction than he pretended; and "indeed it ſo fell out, for I conceived that his arrival "at that time was for no other end than to ſhew the "am-

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 11.—— The reader may poſſibly have perceived that in this, and other places, my words, and matter are the ſame with thoſe in a lately republiſhed performance, mentioned to have been written by Mr. Barrow, and intitled the "Naval Hiſtory of Great-Britain." To the great excellence of this work, it is but candid to ſubſcribe, as, in moſt of the pages, the ſentences are borrowed from Mr. Campbell, to whom I muſt do that juſtice which the compiler hath denied him. I, indeed, have previouſly declared that Mr. Campbell is the chief fountain of my intelligence, may be allowed to follow him; yet, I flatter myſelf that I have not appeared either too ſervile in my imitations, or ſo ungrateful as to endeavour to conceal them. It is due to the memory of Mr. Campbell that I ſhould remark, with ſome indignation, that Mr. Barrow had not the civility, in the whole courſe of his publication, to acknowledge that he was once indebted for a ſingle paſſage to the "Lives of the Admirals."

" ambaſſador, who he knew would ſpread it abroad " throughout all Europe, as alſo the Spaniards, that " they might have the leſs eſteem of his majeſty's " prerogative in the narrow ſeas, that by their wear- " ing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the " ſea, as well as his majeſty. I haſtened the ambaſſa- " dor on ſhore, and diſpatched a gentleman to the ad- " miral, to intreat his company on the next day to " dinner, which he willingly promiſed."

" The gentleman told him that I required him to " take in his flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's ſhips. " He anſwered that he had ſtruck it thrice, which he " thought to be a very ſufficient acknowledgement, and " it was more than former admirals of the narrow ſeas " had required at his hands."

" The gentleman replied that he expected ſuch an " anſwer from him, and, therefore, he was prepared " with what to ſay to that point. He told him that " the times were altered; for that when no more but " ſtriking the flag was required, England, and Holland " were both of them in hoſtility with Spain, which " cauſed her majeſty to tolerate divers things in them, " as, for inſtance, the admiral's wearing his flag, on " the expedition to Cadiz, and the iſlands, when the " lord admiral of England, and the lord of Eſſex, went " as generals; and that courteſy they could not chal- " lenge by right, but by permiſſion; and the wars be- " ing now ceaſed, his majeſty did require by me his " miniſter ſuch rights, and duties as have formerly be- " longed to his progenitors."

" The admiral refuſed to obey my command, ſay- " ing that he expected more favour from me than " from other admirals, in reſpect of our long, and " loving acquaintance; but he was anſwered that all " obligations of private friendſhip muſt be laid aſide,

" when

" when the honour of one's king, and country is at " ſtake. The gentleman adviſed him in a friendly " manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had com- " miſſion to tell him that I meant to weigh anchor, " and come near him, and that the force of our ſhips " ſhould determine the queſtion; for, rather than I " would ſuffer his flag to be worn in view of ſo many " nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury my- " ſelf in the ſea."

" The admiral, it ſeems, upon better advice, took " in his flag, and ſtood immediately off to ſea, firing a " gun for the reſt of the fleet to follow him. And thus " I loſt my gueſt, on the next day, at dinner, as he had " promiſed."

" This paſſage betwixt the admiral, and me, was " obſerved from the ſhore, people beholding us to ſee " the event. On my landing, I met with Siriago, the " general of the Spaniards, who, in the time of queen " Elizabeth, was employed under Mendoza, the ambaſ- " ſador of Spain. He told me that if the Hollanders had " worn their flag, times had been ſtrangely altered in " England, ſince his old maſter, king Philip, the ſe- " cond, was ſhot at by the lord-admiral of England, " for wearing his flag in the narrow ſeas, when he came " to marry queen Mary *(f)*."

On the ſecond of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and four, Sir Henry Middleton, attended by three ſhips, the Hector, the Aſcenſion, and the Suſan, departed from Graveſend, in the Red Dragon, for the purpoſe of preſerving that commercial intercourſe with the people of the Eaſt-Indies, who had been firſt viſited by Lancaſter (*g*); an adventurer, engaged like Sir Henry,

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

(*g*) See from the 306th to the 317th page of this volume.

Henry, in the ſervice of the company of merchants, incorporated by Elizabeth. During the earlier part of this ſecond voyage, undertaken at their expence, the ſhips ſailed in company as far as Bantam, on the arrival (*h*) at which place the crews were ſo enfeebled by ſickneſs that not more than fifty of the whole number enjoyed ſufficient ſtrength for the performance of the neceſſary duty. On the thirtieth of December, Sir Henry Middleton delivered letters, and preſents from James, to the king of Bantam, by whom they were received with great ceremony, and the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment. The Red Dragon, on board of which was Sir Henry Middleton, ſailed for the Moluccas; the Aſcenſion proceeded to the iſles of Banda; and the Hector and the Suſan, remained at Bantam, in order to take in a lading of pepper, and the other articles.

In Auguſt of the following year, Sir Henry rejoined theſe laſt ſhips, from the commanders of which he was informed that the Dutch, availing themſelves of his abſence, had endeavoured, by various arts, to deprive the Engliſh of the privilege of trading to the Eaſt-Indies. Fortunately, on this occaſion, their plots were ineffectual; and the kings of Bantam, Ternate, and Tydore, unmoved by their intereſted, and cruel miſrepreſentations, continued to receive Sir Henry, and his aſſociates, with every mark of favour, and eſteem, and, at their departure, not only loaded them with preſents, but intruſted them with letters for their ſovereign, on whoſe ſubjects theſe princes declared themſelves reſolved to beſtow a firmer protection than any which they had ever granted to Europeans (*i*).

When

(*h*) December 28, 1604.

(*i*) Copies of the letters are in Harris's Collection of Voyages, and Purchas's Pilgrims.

When the Hector, and the Susan were intirely freighted, they sailed (*k*) from Bantam, notwithstanding that the majority of the crew were languishing under the disorders peculiar to the climate, and that the two masters, and several of the mariners were dead. In seven months afterwards, Sir Henry Middleton followed, with the Ascension. As he approached the cape of Good Hope, he rejoined the Hector, the crew of which were all dead, excepting ten; a calamity the more severe as following the loss of the Susan, which happened three months before. On the sixth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, Sir Henry arrived, with the remaining ships, at Deal.

The next naval expedition was undertaken by John Davis, an experienced pilot, who having entered into the service of Sir Edward Michelbourne, sailed on a voyage to the East-Indies, and, on the fifth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four, departed from Cowes, in the isle of Wight, with the Tiger, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons, and a small pinnace called the Tiger's Whelp (*l*). This adventurer, and his associates arrived within three leagues of Bantam, towards the conclusion of the following year, expecting to have joined the English fleet, which had sailed but three weeks before. At this place, they were informed by the factors of the East-India company, that the supercargoes, and officers of the Dutch ships then lying in the road had represented them to the king of Bantam, as thieves, and vagabonds, who were secretly resolved either to de-

(*k*) March 1, 1604.

(*l*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 74.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p 179, 703.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 400, 401.

defraud his ſubjects by the moſt villainous, but unſuſpected meaſures, or to wait in ſilence until a favourable opportunity ſhould offer for the execution of their deſigns, by force. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the Engliſh appeared averſe from entering the road, amongſt the Hollanders; but Sir Edward Michelbourne bravely ſet them at defiance, declared that he would caſt anchor within cannon-ſhot of their ſquadron, and threatened that, if they either proceeded to hoſtilities, or artfully endeavoured to undermine the intereſt of his countrymen with the king of Bantam, he would deſtroy their veſſels, or periſh in the attempt. To this gallant declaration, the Hollanders did not return the leaſt anſwer, neither whilſt the Engliſh remained at Bantam, did they venture, for any length of time, to quit their ſhips, one of which, the largeſt of the five, was nearly of the burthen of eight hundred tons.

On the twenty-ſeventh of December, and when the Engliſh were lying near Pan-Hange, a country ſituated between Patane, and Jor, they met a junck full of Japaneſe, who had been engaged in the commiſſion of acts of Piracy, along the coaſts of China, and, Cambaia, but, having loſt their ſhip, were proceeding homewards in this veſſel. The whole company amounted to ninety perſons, moſt of whom except, the pilot, appeared to be of ſuperior rank. Their firſt interviews with the Engliſh were full of courteſy, and they never viſited without either giving, or receiving preſents. Theſe appearances of peace were, notwithſtanding, but of ſhort duration, and, at a fourth meeting, a ſcene of ſlaughter enſued which proved fatal to numbers of the contending parties. Twenty-ſix of the crew belonging to the Tiger, being on board the junck, ventured with too imprudent a reſolution, to

ſearch

ſearch amongſt the rice for concealed articles of greater value. The Japaneſe roſe, ſlew the majority of their opponents, and obliged the reſt to plunge into the ocean. They next directed their attacks againſt the ſhip, and fought with great fierceneſs, and reſolution. After a long engagement, the Engliſh forced them to retire from the half deck into the cabbin. Here, they made an obſtinate defence, during four hours, when they ſet the place on fire, and ſtill reſiſted amidſt the flames. As their adverſaries perceived that they had formed the deſperate deſign of burning themſelves, together with the ſhip, they diſcharged into the cabbin, from two cannons, a quantity of bullets, caſe-ſhot, and croſs-bars, which did ſuch dreadful execution, that all the Japaneſe, excepting one, were miſerably ſlain. The Engliſh alſo paid dear for their eſcape from this impending danger, as numbers (and amongſt them captain Davis,) were either killed or drowned.

The relation of the fate of the ſurviving Japaneſe is too ſingular to be omitted. To be at once ſecure from the cannonading by the Engliſh, and the flames which were ſpreading around the cabbin, he jumped into the ocean. Here, alſo, he was on the point of periſhing, but was taken by the Engliſh, and brought on board. His captors were unrelenting; they bade him prepare for death, and were aſtoniſhed at the frantic reſolution which induced him to deſire that he might be cut to pieces. Had the Engliſh been endued with the leaſt humanity, they would have extended it to a fellow-creature as gallant, and (what too juſtly may be inferred,) not more a ſavage than themſelves; yet the only mercy granted to him was a refuſal of the death which he would have choſen.

He received ſentence to be hanged, directly. The rope by which he was drawn up, broke; he fell into the ſea, ſwam away, and (as it was believed,) reached the ſhore, in ſafety. Thus, in the ſpace of a few hours, he eſcaped death (that death which to his companions was inevitable,) by the artillery of the enemy; he avoided deſtruction either from fire, or water; he was preſerved, although againſt his own requeſt, from being cut to pieces; a circumſtance ſingularly fortunate, ſaved him from hanging; and he, perhaps, was freed a ſecond time, from periſhing amidſt the waves.

On the thirtieth of December, and when the Engliſh were at anchor near a ſmall iſland, they received intelligence that a Chineſe fleet was daily expected to arrive. On the ſecond of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, they perceived two ſail, which on a nearer approach, proved to be a part of the fleet. Having boarded theſe veſſels, they, after a ſhort conteſt, obliged the commanders to caſt anchor. On board, were ſilks, and nearly fifty tons of China, and ſilver. The Engliſh, who imagined that their moſt valuable acquiſitions would be made out of the cargoes of thoſe ſhips which were yet to arrive, diſmiſſed the two veſſels, without detaining any material articles of merchandize. In the week ſucceeding to this event, they were informed by ſome officers belonging to the Dutch ſhips, that the Engliſh merchants at Bantam were in danger of being ſacrificed to the fury of the Chineſe, who had declared themſelves reſolved to avenge the detention of their veſſels. This circumſtance proved the ſafety of the fleet. The Engliſh preferring the welfare of their countrymen to their private intereſt, abandoned their deſign to ſeize the

the ſhips, and, directing their courſe homewards, arrived at Portſmouth, on the nineteenth of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix (*m*).

It was alſo at this period that captain Charles Leigh, undertook a voyage to Guiana, partly at his own expence, and partly at the expence of his brother, Sir Olave Leigh. The crew amounted to forty-ſeven perſons, including boys; and the chief end of their enterprize was to make a more compleat diſcovery than had hitherto been effected of the country of Guiana, and, alſo, to eſtabliſh an Engliſh colony in thoſe parts.

On the twenty-firſt of March, theſe adventurers departed from Woolwich, in a bark called the Olive-Plant, of the Burthen of fifty tons; and, on the twenty-ſecond of May, they reached the river of Wiapoco, in the latitude of three degrees, and thirty minutes, to the northward of the line. Having diſembarked at the town which takes its name from the river, they entered into an agreement with the inhabitants, by whom they were courteouſly received, to aſſiſt them in their hoſtile operations againſt their inveterate enemies, the Caribbes, on condition that they ſhould be allowed an ample ſpace of ground, and ſeveral houſes to be poſſeſſed, until the Erection of their own buildings.

This compact was effected by the interpoſition of two natives, who had formerly been in England, and underſtood the language of that country. Leſt the articles agreed to ſhould not be ſtrictly carried into execution, five hoſtages, and amongſt theſe, two of

(*m*) Harris's col. Part 1. p. 55.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 132. and V. 3. p. 556.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 401, 402.

conſiderable rank, were demanded from the ſavages, who not only gave them, but conſented that they ſhould be conveyed to England, as pledges for the fidelity of their countrymen.

The firſt ſettlement of the coloniſts was on that part of the mountain which lies weſtward of the entrance of the river, and to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. Here, Leigh might have engaged in active ſcenes of life, at once pleaſing to himſelf, and ſerviceable to his country, but the mutinous diſpoſition of his aſſociates caſt ſuch obſtacles in the way of his deſigns, as neither reſolution, nor abilities, nor induſtry could ſurmount.

In the ſummer of the following year, the captain ſent the Olive-Plant to England (*n*), for a freſh ſtock of various articles of merchandize, domeſtic implements, and proviſions, and retained at the colony thirty-five of his aſſociates. The return of the veſſel appeared the earneſt of their better fortunes. The natives, rejoiced at the opportunity of procuring commodities from Europe, encouraged the Engliſh to trade with them, not only near the ſettlement, but farther up the river. The chief articles with which they ſupplied the coloniſts were wax; long, and beautiful white feathers; tobacco; green, and black cotton, yarn, and wool; ſweet gums; red pepper; ſpleen, and matiate-ſtones; ſeveral kinds of wood, roots and berries, partly for medicines; and partly for the purpoſes of dyeing; flax; parrots; and monkies. At this period, when matters wore a ſucceſsful aſpect, a violent dyſentery broke out, and proved fatal to many

(*u*) See in Purchas a letter to Sir Olave Leigh, from his brother Charles.

ny of the Engliſh, amongſt whom was the captain, who died of it, almoſt immediately after he had prepared for a voyage homewards, in order to procure a full cargo of ſuch articles as might be moſt needful for his colony. This ſevere calamity proved the bane of the undertaking. Each perſon now ſhifted for himſelf. Some returned to England in their own veſſels, others ſailed to Europe in a French ſhip; and the reſt in company with the Dutch. Thus, was the colony overthrown, to the great affliction of the Indians, who, by their conduct, had given proofs of an affectionate attachment to Leigh, and his aſſociates (*o*).

The concluſion of the peace with Spain was not ſufficient to prevent the commanders of ſhips in the ſervice of that country from continuing their depredations on the veſſels belonging to the Engliſh merchants. The particulars of theſe injuries have been too ſlightly mentioned, and we have no copious authority to follow in the diſcuſſion of them. In imitation of an indefatigable hiſtorian (*p*), we ſhall inſert a copy from a manuſcript which confirms the preceding aſſertion, and affords a melancholy proof not only of the facility with which the Spaniards impoſed on James, but of the various, and too ſucceſsful artifices of the Papiſts, in order to annoy the proteſtants. From whom the inſtructions came is not abſolutely certain: yet we may infer, with ſome probability, that they were addreſſed by an ambaſſador in the ſervice of James, (perhaps at Florence,) to his ſecretary.

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part. 1. p. 712.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1250.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 402, 403.

(*p*) Mr. Lediard.

MS. in BIBL. COTTON. Jul. E. II. Fol. 102.

The inſtructions given to George Rookes, at his departure for Sicily, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and four.

" NOTWITHSTANDING the needful uſe of " your perſon about me, here, I have yielded to " your preſent employment in Sicily, for two reſpects. " Firſt, upon my dealing, ſome weeks ſince, with the " Spaniſh ambaſſador, here, about thoſe ſhips which are " queſtioned by the duke of Feria, and the ſaid am- " baſſador's effectual writing, in that account, to the " duke, there has been ſent from him hither, unto " me a reply, and colour of juſtification (although " exceedingly weak, and unworthy of his wiſdom,) " againſt our complaints, which engages me a little " farther, than otherwiſe I ſhould be, in a mere mer- " cantile cauſe, by reaſon of the notorious violation, " offered by the ſaid duke, unto the late contract of " peace, between the kings our maſters, as appeareth " almoſt in every article of his anſwer; inſomuch as " that he does not, in the fifth article thereof, make " mention of the ſaid peace; and it might be well " doubted by his actions, whether that had yet come " to his hearing, as you may boldly ſay. Secondly, " becauſe under the buſineſs for the releaſement of " thoſe ſhips, I will make uſe of you, for ſome other " occaſions, that lie in the very direct line of the " Journey. Therefore, leaving unto Mr. James Hig- " gons, and Mr. Geoffry Luther, who are here conſti- " tuted abſolute procurators in the cauſe of thoſe ſhips " to both authoriſe you to deal in that, and to illu- " minate, and inform you how to deal (as hath been " partly done already by their anſwers unto the above-

" named

" named juſtification,) I will only remember you to
" tell the duke of Feria, (if you fall into any argu-
" ment) theſe things. (1) That at the writing of
" his majeſty's letters, (which you carry) he had
" not yet heared of the death of the maſter, purſer,
" and merchant of the ſhip call the Trial, (who all
" three are ſince dead by torture, and barbarous
" uſage, in priſon,) whereby, as that ſeems, his ma-
" jeſty's letters are written with more moderation
" than peradventure otherwiſe they would have been.
" (2) That what original action ſoever might lie
" againſt the ſhip, called the Trial, or any other of
" his majeſty's ſubjects ſhips, for any hoſtile act,
" either intended, or committed, before the twenty-
" fourth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix
" hundred, and three, is abſolutely fruſtrated, by
" the contract of peace, as you may urge out of the
" very firſt article of the ſaid contract, which I have
" cauſed to be written out for you, from an authentic
" copy, to that effect. This is all which I will ſay
" unto you about the merchants affairs, wherein the
" greateſt difficulty, which I can apprehend, is, that
" you will be troubled with falſe, and corrupted wit-
" neſſes; an ordinary trade, and occupation amongſt
" the Greeks, and Sicilians. Now, for my own pur-
" poſes, you ſhall underſtand that I have gotten know-
" ledge of the practices of Parſons, the jeſuit, in the
" kingdom of Naples, during the time of his being
" there, whence he is newly returned to Rome. Theſe
" practices do partly conſiſt in certain deviliſh reports
" which he hath there diſſeminated againſt the perſon
" of his majeſty, wherewith he hath, in ſome ſort,
" poſſeſſed the vice-roy, by his ſecretary, who hath
" great power over his maſter, and partly in the pur-
" chaſe of new inſtruments to himſelf there, where-

" of

" of their principal is one Wale, an Iriſh man, whom
" He hath by the means of the ſaid ſecretary, placed
" in a kind of conſulſhip over ſuch Engliſh merchants
" as ſhall arrive in that port, after he had managed a
" marriage between the ſaid Wale, and one Chancellor's
" daughter, an Engliſh man there reſident. Now for
" thoſe reports, although the ſpeech of ſo unclean a
" mouth, and conſcience, can no way blemiſh his
" majeſty's honour, yet there will be taken ſome
" courſe hereafter to obviate ſuch inconveniencies, as
" might ariſe from it. But, for the latter point, touch-
" ing Wale, the Iriſh man, this being a thing that
" doth directly croſs a prerogative of my charge here,
" from whom only his majeſty will take information
" of the incumbrances, and grievances of his ſubjects,
" and of all other accidents, in all harbours, and
" ſtates, in Italy, and hath, to that purpoſe, expreſſed
" his will unto the merchants, his ſubjects, at Piſa,
" and Leghorn, and by them to all others, as you ſee
" in the copy which you carry with you, of my
" lord ſecretary's letters, dated on the twenty-third of
" January laſt; I ſay, this ſubordination of the ſaid
" Wale, at Naples, without my conſent, being a baſe,
" and inſupportable intruſion, you ſhall deal in it, as
" from me, very roundly, calling together ſuch Engliſh
" merchants, as you ſhall find there, and acquainting
" them, with his Majeſty's will, out of the aforeſaid
" copy of my lord ſecretary's letters, by the virtue
" of which you ſhall diſ-authoriſe, and diſcredit the
" ſaid Wale, from dealing any farther as conſul, or
" otherwiſe, for them. This done, I would have you
" addreſs yourſelf there, to one captain Alexander He-
" brun, a Scotch Gentleman, (of whoſe loyalty unto
" his majeſty, I have, as you ſhall tell him, very eſpe-
" cial proof,) deſiring him to deliberate with you,

" upon

" upon choice of ſome other fit perſon there, for the " aſſiſtance of our merchants, in ſuch caſes as require " interceſſion from the vice-roy, and for the in- " formation of me, from time, to time, in their " grievances. Theſe points you are to negociate in " your paſſage towards Meſſina, and preſently upon it " to advertiſe me, what you have done, and how you " find the ſaid Wale to have demeaned himſelf, that " ſo, upon the advertiſement, and farther conſidera- " tion of circumſtances, I may write letters thither, " either to the vice-roy, himſelf, or any other, as " you, and the ſaid captain ſhall hold fit, to meet " you there againſt your return, which in your ab- " ſence ſhall be addreſſed to the ſaid captain's hand. " If you find the ſaid captain ſo vacant, that he may " undertake the cauſes of his countrymen, you ſhall " ſay that you had charge to offer it to him, before " any other. Laſtly, in the whole courſe, I would " have you obſerve, as much as may be, the nature " of the places by which you paſs, and all occur- " rences, for the information of me, and your own " judgment."

And ſo GOD bleſs you.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, the earl of Southampton, and the lord Thomas Arundel, of Wardour, equipped a veſſel, called the Archangel, and directed the commander, captain George Weymouth, to ſail with her, on a trading voyage to Virginia. Accordingly, on the firſt of March, he departed from Dartmouth, and had a proſperous paſſage, until he approached the deſired coaſt. It was the intention of this officer, and his aſſociates, to have fallen in with the land, about the latitude of thirty-nine degrees; but, having

having been driven rather more to the northward, by the winds, they came into nearly forty-one degrees, and a half, when, as their water was almoſt expended, they eagerly wiſhed to obtain a ſight of land. Their charts had taught them to expect it, and, therefore, they bore directly in with it, according to their directions; yet, they did not find land, during a courſe of fifty leagues. At length, on the ſixteenth of May, they deſcried a ſmall iſland, the ſhores of which were ſkirted by woods. On the trees, were various fruits; ſtreams of freſh water ran down the cliffs; fowls of different kinds were alſo ſeen in vaſt numbers; and the ſhores produced quantities of fiſh. To this place, on the eaſtern part of which they had diſembarked, they gave the name of Long-Iſland (*q*).

From hence, they could diſcern a multitude of other iſlands, and the main land itſelf, extending from the weſt-ſouth-weſt, to the eaſt-north-eaſt. On ſeveral of the places adjoining to the continent, they landed, and found them all full of different ſorts of trees, ſeveral of which bore fruit, and the reſt were timber. At one of theſe iſlands was a convenient harbour, in which ſhips might lie, defended from the winds, in water, from ſix, to ten fathom, and on a tough clay-ooze. Having diſcovered it at Whitſuntide, they called it Pentecoſt harbour. The numerous fir-trees yielded a kind of ſweet turpentine; near the rocks were quantities of Muſcles, all of which

(*q*) Mr. Lediard, in his naval Hiſtory, obſerves that a full relation of this voyage was publiſhed, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, by Mr. James Roſier, one of the adventurers, and directed, by the lord Arundel, of Wardour, to draw up an account of the expedition. The more modern relations appear to be, in a great meaſure, abſtracts from this performance.

which abounded with ſmall pearls; and many produced ſuch as were large, and orient. Of this valuable commodity, the inſide of the ſhells of which reſembled mother of pearl, the Engliſh were unable to procure any conſiderable quantity, becauſe they wanted the proper tackle, for the purpoſes of dredging.

The ſavages who inhabited the continent, came off in canoes, and traded with the Engliſh, during their ſtay, giving in exchange for knives, beads, and other trifles, a valuable aſſortment of ſkins, and furs. Under the appearances of friendſhip, they concealed the moſt treacherous intentions, which, on one occaſion, they nearly executed. Having invited the Engliſh on ſhore, for the purpoſes of trading, they attempted to draw them towards an ambuſh, in which were ſecreted three hundred men, armed with bows, and arrows. The ſnare was, however, fortunately diſcovered, and captain Weymouth, and his aſſociates eſcaped, although with difficulty, to their ſhip.

The qualities of the main land, as far as they diſcovered it, appeared ſuperior in goodneſs to thoſe of the other iſlands, notwithſtanding their fertility; but the circumſtance which theſe adventurers deemed the moſt fortunate, was their arrival at a river (*r*), which they preferred to any (known at leaſt by themſelves,) in all America. Having ſailed on it, during a courſe of ſeveral leagues, they were enabled to give the following account; that as it runs up the main to the extent of forty miles, it is, in moſt places, a mile in breadth, in ſome three quarters, and in none leſs than half a mile. It flows ſixteen, or eighteen feet, and, at low

(*r*) The author of the new Hiſtory of Virginia obſerves that it is now named Connecticut River, but, in the Hiſtory of the Britiſh empire, in America, it is called the river of Powhatan, ſouthward of the bay of Cheſapeak.

low water, is in depth, from ſix, to ten fathoms. It hath abundance of harbours, capable of receiving ſhips of all burthens, and of affording them a more effectual ſhelter than could be found in the European ports, from the violence of the winds, and weather. On both ſides, and, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, are ſeveral coves proper for the reception of an hundred ſail; and here the ground is a ſoft ooze, with tough clay underneath, for anchor-hold. The adjacent land extends along, on either ſhore, in a ſmooth line, and, inſtead of rocks, and cliffs, is bordered with green graſs, firs, oaks, and other lofty trees. The river yields quantities of fiſh, and branches on both ſides, towards the main land; a circumſtance which muſt greatly contribute to the eaſy tranſportation of goods, from place, to place. It is added that the voyagers who approach Pentecoſt harbour will eaſily find this river; but that this company was, in all probability, the firſt of Europeans, who ever were there; ſince it could not be diſcovered, during the paſſage up the river, by any ſigns whatſoever, that others, not being natives, had viſited thoſe parts before.

It was on the banks of this river that the Engliſh would willingly have eſtabliſhed a colony; but ſuch were the orders in their commiſſion, that they were obliged to relinquiſh, until a future opportunity, their attempts, to make farther diſcoveries in this region (*s*). They, therefore, remained only ſix weeks, at

(*s*) Yet Purchas remarks that when the ſavages deſired that an Engliſhman would remain aſhore with them, Griffin, one of the adventurers who, in conſequence of an agreement made with the lord Arundel, of Wardour, was to have been left, if neceſſary, in the country, went with them in their Canoe. Hence, it may be inferred that, if the

at anchor, in the river, and, when this period was expired, having laden their ſhip with ſkins, furs, ſaſſafras, and tobacco, they, on the ſixteenth of June, ſet ſail for England, (accompanied by five of the ſavages,) and, on the eighteenth of July, arrived ſafely at the port of Dartmouth.

The ſavages (all of whom reached England,) appeared perfectly reconciled to their ſituation, notwithſtanding that when the Engliſh firſt prepared to detain them on board of the Archangel, they made a gallant, but ineffectual reſiſtance. The courteous treatment which they received during the voyage, from Weymouth, and his aſſociates, at once contributed to ſoften their captivity, (if it deſerve the name,) and to impart a gentleneſs to their manners. They became tractable, attached to the Engliſh, and rejoiced at every opportunity of manifeſting a readineſs to oblige them. Amongſt themſelves, they lived in conſtant harmony; and whatſoever one received, he immediately divided it with the others. Three of theſe ſavages had borne a diſtinguiſhed rank in their own country; a fourth was a Sagamo, or chief commander; and the fifth, a ſervant.

A naval hiſtorian (*t*) juſtly conſiders it as remarkable that, in all theſe latter voyages, the Engliſh never endeavoured to approach the place where the firſt attempts towards the eſtabliſhment of a colony, were made at Cape Hattoraſk; neither did they humanely ex-

the Engliſh had felt an inclination to eſtabliſh a colony at this place, they had no reſtraints to fear from the commiſſion. The perſons employed on this voyage amounted but to twenty-nine; too ſmall a number for the purpoſe of making ſettlements. Roſier obſerves that only Owen Griffin, and another man were to have been left there.

(*t*) Mr. Lediard.

extend a thought to the hundred, and fifteen perſons, who had ſettled there, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven. Concerning theſe, no account had been received; no inquiry had been ſet on foot; and it was, therefore, natural to conclude that they had either died, or were languiſhing in want. To the diſgrace of their countrymen, it muſt be remarked that they were not viſited from this period, until the expiration of three years, when a colony was eſtabliſhed near Cheſapeak Bay, in Virginia, which, previous to this Æra, had not been ſeen by any Engliſhman. So inſatiate was the luſt of riches, and ſuch were the ungovernable purſuits of an extenſive commerce, that all regard for the lives of their fellow-chriſtians, kindred, neighbours, and countrymen, was loſt in the moſt ſordid, and barbarous atachment to their private intereſt (*u*).

To the account already given concerning the voyage of captain Charles Leigh, to Guiana, it may be neceſſary to add that his brother, Sir Olave, anxious for the proſperity of the colony, fitted out another ſhip (*x*), which, being freighted with all neceſſaries, and commanded by the captains Catalin, and Saint-John, proceeded, on the fourteenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, from Woolwich, for Wiapoco. A variety of unfortunate circumſtances, ariſing from contrary winds, ſtrong currents,

(*u*) The particulars of this voyage to Virginia are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 817.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1659.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 18.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 11.—Britiſh Empire in America, Part 1. p. 221.—Relation of a voyage to Virginia, by James Roſier.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. p. 405, 406, 407.

(*x*) The Olive-Bloſſom.

rents, and the ignorance, and inattention of the maſter, Richard Chambers, made theſe officers deſpair, (and the more, as they were driven greatly to the Leeward,) of ever gaining their deſtined port, in any ſeaſonable time. They, therefore, touched firſt at Barbadoes, and, afterwards, at the iſland of Saint Lucia, intending to return from thence to England; a meaſure which they were, notwithſtanding, obliged to relinquiſh, when having examined the ſtores, they perceived that the quantity was inſufficient for the ſupport of the crew, during ſo long a voyage. A ſituation thus alarming induced captain Saint-John, and ſixty-ſeven of the paſſengers, to ſtay on the iſland, rather than run the riſk of periſhing at ſea. Here, therefore, they diſembarked, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, provided only with one ſmall piece of Ordnance, their ſwords, Muſkets, ſome powder, and a ſingle barrel of biſcuits. This ſupply was all which thoſe ſhipmates whom they were going to deſert, could be prevailed on to give; and the refuſal of farther ſuccours was the more ſteadily perſiſted in, as a puniſhment deſerved by captain Saint-John, and his aſſociates, who had forcibly detained the boat for their own uſe.

Theſe adventurers were ſoon viſited by the Indians, who, in exchange for trifling articles, ſupplied them with the various produce of the ſoil, together with gulls, pelicans, woodcocks, and ſnipes. During the night, they catched tortoiſes on the ſands, and theſe creatures alone would have proved ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. Thus plentifully furniſhed with delicious food, they remained, for the ſpace of five weeks, in little huts, which they had conſtructed, without making any excurſions of diſcovery into the country. In this ſtate of inactivity, they probably might

have reſted much longer, if Saint-John, who had diſcerned plates of metal on the arms of ſeveral of the Indians, and was informed by one Brown, belonging to their company, and a refiner, that they were three parts compoſed of gold, had not ſuggeſted to his aſſociates the neceſſity of preparing for an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which might prove the means of loading themſelves with riches.

When the Indians were inquired of, by ſigns, from whence they had procured the metal, they pointed to a lofty mountain, on the north-weſtern extremity of the iſland. Thither Saint-John, and as many of his aſſociates as the boat could conveniently receive, immediately ſet ſail, after having promiſed thoſe who were left to guard the huts, that they would return, in the courſe of a few days.

When this diviſion of the company had departed, the remainder expected that the Indians would have reſorted to them, as uſual, with proviſions; but three days elapſed, and none had viſited them. At this juncture, the ſavages were employed in the perpetration of more inhoſpitable actions. Having traced Saint-John, and his followers, towards the mountain, they concerted meaſures for their deſtruction, and put themſelves under the command of Augramert, a deſperate, and enterprizing Indian, who had been appointed captain of the iſland of Saint Vincent. In order to conceal their intentions, they once more aſſumed the appearances of a friendly diſpoſition, and paid freſh viſits, at one of which Augramert expreſſed an inclination to return, at his own quarters, the civilities which he had received; and, having perſuaded ſeveral of the Engliſh to accompany him, promiſed that they ſhould be ſupplied with ſuch proviſions as they wanted.

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The number of perſons who were induced to attend Augramert amounted to eighteen, including captain Saint-John. The ſavage, ſtill declaring that he was conducting them to his abode, drew them towards an ambuſh, where, being ſurrounded by more than five hundred Indians, and expoſed, on every ſide, to vollies of arrows, they were ſoon overpowered, and, after a brave reſiſtance, all, excepting John Nicolls, were barbarouſly ſlaughtered.

This ſole ſurvivor of his unfortunate companions having eſcaped, with difficulty, from the ſavages, firſt, concealed himſelf within the woods, then, ſwam acroſs a lake, and, at length, with three arrows ſticking in his body, returned home, barely in ſufficient time, to give the alarm to his companions, whoſe huts were ſhortly afterwards ſurrounded by an armed multitude of Indians, againſt whom they diſcharged their ſmall piece of artillery, and forced them to retire. In three days from this event, the Engliſh were again aſſailed by a body of thirteen hundred men, who, after having attacked, but without ſucceſs, their little fort, and cabins, for the ſpace of ſeven days, had recourſe to fire-arrows, which, in a ſhort time, reduced their habitations, and all their property, to an heap of aſhes. In ſpite of theſe calamities, the Engliſh ſtood intrepidly on their defence, and their numerous aſſailants, unable to conquer this little band of heroes, again reluctantly withdrew.

Scarcely were they departed, when ſome of the neighbouring Indians, leſs barbarous than the reſt, ſupplied the Engliſh with proviſions, and, at length, agreed to give them an old, and damaged boat, in exchange for beads, knives, and Hatchets. Thus equipped, the nineteen ſurvivors (*y*), of ſixty-eight perſons who had

(*y*) Of theſe, twelve were wounded.

ſailed from England, committed themſelves to the mercy of the ocean. Their ſituation was deplorable to an extreme; they had not either charts, or compaſſes; their whole means of ſubſiſtence were confined to four gallons of water, a ſmall quantity of plantains, and potatoes, and a bag of rice. With theſe proviſions, it was not poſſible that they could be ſupported longer than the ſpace of three days, previous to the expiration of which, they had no reaſon to imagine that, without one mariner in their company, they ſhould arrive at ſome hoſpitable ſhore.

In this ſmall, and overladen boat, they lived for the ſpace of ten days, at ſea, during which four perſons were employed, by turns, conſtantly to ſcoop out the water. At length, when all were driven to deſpair, and one of the company was juſt expiring, they diſcovered land. The night advanced before they could reach it, and ſoon afterwards, their boat was daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. With much difficulty, they gained the iſland, on which, as it was barren and uninhabited, they now expected to die by famine. Fortunately, all the ſeparated parts of their boat were caſt aſhore. Theſe being immediately collected, and properly joined together, five of the company departed for the continent, in order that they might prevail on the inhabitants to afford them ſpeedy ſuccour. Arriving at an Indian town, called Tocoya, they were humanely ſupplied with proviſions, and all neceſſaries, which they carried to the iſland, where, after an abſence of fifteen days, they rejoined all their aſſociates, excepting five, who had died, for want of ſuſtenance. The number of theſe unfortunate adventurers was now reduced to thirteen, who reached a Spaniſh ſettlement, called Coro, where, although they were treated with great humanity, two

more

more expired ſoon after their arrival. Three proceeded to Carthagena, and were followed by two others, with whom they got a paſſage to Spain. The fate of the reſt is unknown (z).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, the king granted a charter to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and others of the town of Plymouth, whereby they were impowered to plant whereſoever they might think fit, and convenient, between thirty-eight, and forty-five degrees of northern latitude (*a*).

It was at this period that the firſt attempt was made for a ſettlement in New-England, by Henry Challons, who was attended by thirty perſons, amongſt whom were two natives of the country, in a ſmall ſhip, called the Richard, of Plymouth. This voyage was undertaken at the expence of Sir John Popham, the lord chief juſtice, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governour of Plymouth fort, who, with other gentlemen,

(z) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 713.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1250.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 2. p. 407, 408.

(*a*) The letters-patent granted by James, in the courſe of this year, for the limitation of Virginia, extended from thirty-four, to thirty-five degrees, and it was divided into two parts, which were the firſt, and the ſecond colony. The firſt was allotted to the city of London, and perſons who would adventure with them, in order to diſcover, and take their choice of lands, betwixt the degrees of thirty-four, and forty-one. The ſecond was appointed to the cities of Briſtol, and Exeter, the towns of Plymouth, the Weſtern parts of England, and all thoſe who would adventure, and join with them. Permiſſion was granted to theſe to make their choice any where between the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five, provided there ſhould be at leaſt the diſtance of an hundred miles, between theſe two colonies, each of which enjoyed, equally laws, Privileges, and authority for the government of their ſeveral plantations.

and merchants of the weſt, were concerned in the company eſtabliſhed by the charter to which we have here alluded. Challons, and his aſſociates, ſet ſail in the month of Auguſt, and, having proceeded as far as the Spaniſh Weſt-Indian iſlands, were intercepted, and taken by an Armada, from the officers of which they experienced the moſt inhuman treatment, and were, at length, ſent into Spain, where they long languiſhed under every ſpecies of barbarous indignity. A laborious hiſtorian (*b*) remarks, without deſcending to particulars, that this misfortune of Challons expoſed him to the power of certain ſtrangers, enemies to his proceedings; who impriſoned his company, confiſcated the ſhip, together with the cargo, and by theſe oppreſſive meaſures, intirely overthrew the voyage.

So heavy a calamity conſiderably repreſſed the ardour of the firſt adventurers; but the lord chief juſtice Popham, at a period prior to the advice of the diſaſter which had happened to Challons, diſpatched another ſhip, under the command of captain Hanham, one of the patentees, with all neceſſaries for his ſupport. When he arrived at the appointed place, he learned that Challons, and his aſſociates, had never reached it. On this account, Hanham, who was inſtructed, not, at that juncture, to attempt the eſtabliſhment of a colony, but to make diſcoveries preparatory to ſuch an event, returned home, and, on his arrival, repreſented the ſituation, and other circumſtances relating to the country, in ſo favourable a light, that all people were now as much ſatisfied, as, at the recital of the firſt miſcarriage, they had been diſpirited, and numbers, who, before, had declined engaging in the enterprize, now, earneſtly intreated that they might become adventurers. Sir John Popham, and

(*b*) Purchas.

and thoſe perſons who were at firſt concerned in this deſign, now felt ſuch ſanguine hopes of its ſucceſs, that they chearfully contributed an ample ſhare towards the expence of collecting, and ſending over a multitude of proper perſons for the purpoſes of colonization.

On the thirty-firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, the captains Popham, and Gilbert, two of the patentees, ſet ſail from Plymouth, with two ſhips, on board of which were an hundred paſſengers, together with ordnance, ſtores, and all neceſſary proviſions for their uſe (*c*). Having arrived at Monahigan, on the eleventh of Auguſt, they ſoon afterwards ſeated themſelves at Sagadahock, in Norembegua, nearly nine leagues to the Southward, and at the mouth of a navigable river, where they conſtructed Saint George's fort.

Previous to the return of theſe ſhips, the lord chief juſtice Popham died, a circumſtance which, together with a ſeries of calamitous events, proved the ſource of inſuperable obſtacles to the proſperity of the coloniſts. Sir Francis Popham, the ſon, was, indeed, aſſiduous in the ſupport of thoſe undertakings which

(*c*) It is obſerved by Smith, in his general Hiſtory of Virginia, that Sir John Popham having, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, procured a number of perſons, together with whatſoever might be requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of a colony in New England, ſent thither the Captains, George Popham, as Preſident; Raleigh Gilbert, as Admiral; Edward Harlow, as Maſter of the Ordnance; Robert Davis, a Serjeant Major; and Elias Beſt, as marſhal; Mr. Seaman was appointed Secretary; Captain James Davis, Commander of the Fort; and Mr. Gome Carew, Chief-Searcher. All theſe were of the council, and together with an hundred others, had received orders to remain in the country.

had been patronized by his father, and advanced a conſiderable ſum for the full equipment of three ſhips, which ſailed, in the courſe of the ſucceeding year, for New England. With theſe, arrived the afflicting news of the deaths of the lord chief juſtice, and Sir John Gilbert, brothers to the preſident, and admiral of the colony. Captain Gilbert was now obliged to return to England, in order to take poſſeſſion of the eſtate which had devolved to him, on the deceaſe of Sir John. The loſs of this officer, was the more heavily felt after that of Popham, (already dead,) and left the coloniſts without a chief ſufficiently important for the purpoſes of contributing to the ſucceſs, and ſtability of their enterprizes. To fill up the meaſure of their diſappointments, the ſtores had, in the winter, been conſumed by fire; an event which they now conſidered in ſo alarming a point of view, that they unanimouſly determined to forſake the plantation, and ſet ſail for England, with the ſhips, and a ſmall bark, which, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the little aſſiſtance to be procured, they had conſtructed, and completely rigged. In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, they returned to their native country, and delivered ſuch diſcouraging accounts concerning the miſcarriage of their enterprize, that, in a ſhort time, even the leaſt diſcourſe relating to the eſtabliſhment of a colony in New-England had entirely ſubſided. Sir Francis Popham, notwithſtanding, employed the Ships which were the property of the company, and ſupplying, at his own expence, whatſoever was neceſſary for his purpoſe, ſent them frequently to theſe coaſts, with directions to the commanders that they ſhould not only reap every benefit in their power from

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the fiſheries, but embraced all opportunities of eſtabliſhing an extenſive commerce (*d*).

We now turn back in order to preſent the reader with an account of the eſtabliſhment of a colony in the more ſouthern diſtricts of Virginia, to accompliſh which ſalutary purpoſe the merchants of London, Briſtol, Exeter, and Plymouth, joined in a petition to the king, and having repreſented that no ſingle individual was equal either to the ſettlement of a plantation, or the management of ſuch extended plans of trade, beſought him to grant them his protection, and to incorporate, and enable them to raiſe a ſupply ſufficient for the completion of their intended enterprize.

Accordingly, on the tenth of April, in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, the king iſſued his letters-patent, by which they were incorporated, in one charter, into two diſtinct colonies, and formed two ſeparate companies (*e*).

"The charter was granted to Sir Thomas Gates, "Sir George Sommers, knights; Richard Hackluyt, "clerk, and prebend of Weſtminſter; and Edward "Maria Wingfield, Eſquire, adventurer of the city "of London, and to ſuch others as ſhould be joined "unto them, of that colony, which ſhould be called "The

(*d*) Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 203.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1827, 1832.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 26.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio, p. 409, 410, 411.—In imitation of the laſt author, to whoſe reſearches we are ſo much indebted, the narratives of tranſactions which are cloſely connected have been placed together, although they do not fall within the compaſs of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix.

(*e*) Concerning theſe Letters Patent, mention hath been already made; but, in this place, it appears neceſſary to introduce them more circumſtantially.

"The firſt Company, with liberty to begin their firſt "plantation, and ſeat, at any place, upon the coaſt "of Virginia, where they ſhould think fit, and conve- "nient, between the degrees of thirty-four, and forty- "one, of northern latitude; and that they ſhould "extend their bounds from the ſaid firſt ſeat of their "plantation, and habitation, fifty miles along the "ſea-coaſts, each way; and include all the iſlands "within an hundred miles directly overagainſt the "ſame ſea-coaſt, and alſo back into the main-land, "one hundred miles from the ſea-coaſt; and that no "others ſhould be permitted, or ſuffered to plant, or "inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards "the main land, without the expreſs licence of the "council of that colony thereunto in writing firſt "had, and obtained. And, for the ſecond colony, "Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, "and George Popham, Eſquires, of the town of Ply- "mouth, and all others who ſhould be joined to "them, of that colony, with liberty to begin their "firſt plantation, and ſeat, at any place upon the "coaſt of Virginia, where they ſhould think fit, be- "tween the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five of "northern latitude, with the like liberties, and bounds, "as enjoyed by the firſt colony, provided that they "did not ſeat themſelves within an hundred miles of "them."

This patent included Maryland, Virginia, and Caro- lina, as they are now diſtinguiſhed from each other, for the London adventurers; and New-England, New- York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania, as they are now divided into ſeveral provinces, for the Plymouth adven- turers; but the whole was then called Virginia, as well that which was granted to the one, as to the other.

Impow-

Impowered by this patent, the London company fitted out two ſhips, the command of which was given to Chriſtopher Newport. Accompanying this officer were Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, ſeveral gentlemen of family, the captains Goſnoll, Smith *(f)*, Ratcliff, Martin, Kendal, and Mr. Wingfield, which laſt ſix, together with Newport, were, as it afterwards appeared, nominated of the council. Excluſive of theſe, a miniſter, and many different artiſans were amongſt the paſſengers, who, together, amounted to more than two hundred perſons.

On the nineteenth of December, captain Newport, and his aſſociates, proceeded from England, and, in conſequence of inſtructions for that purpoſe, proceeded, (notwithſtanding that no convenient harbour could be found there,) to the part of Virginia, on which Mr. White had left his miſerable colony. During the voyage, captain Smith acted as pilot, and navigated this little fleet by the weſtern, and Caribbee iſlands. A courſe ſo tedious, and the various interruptions to it, filled the minds of his aſſociates with apprehenſions that

(f) Mr. Lediard obſerves that ſome authors diſtinguiſh the voyage of Captain Smith, from that of Captain Newport, and affirm that the firſt ſettlement which remained was made by Smith, who (they remark,) went there as chief commander of three ſmall ſhips. But other writers mention the voyage of Newport, as prior to that of Smith. This point muſt be left to the deciſion of thoſe who have inſpected the books of the company. Suffice it that the naval hiſtorian hath followed the accounts which appeared the moſt authentic. Amongſt theſe, the aſſertions in the general hiſtory, by Smith, ſeem too well grounded. We there learn that company fitted out two ſhips; the one of an hundred, and the other of forty tons burthen; together with a pinnace of twenty tons burthen. The tranſportation of the company was committed to captain Chriſtopher Newport.

that they ſhould never reach the colony, and determined them to return immediately to England. Soon afterwards (*g*) the ſhips fortunately fell in with Virginia, or that part of the continent which is now ſo called, at the mouth of Cheſapeak bay. The ſouthern cape of it was the firſt place on which they diſembarked; and here, they erected a fort; giving it the name of Cape, and Fort Henry, as to the northern part, they gave that of Fort Charles, in compliment to the two eldeſt princes. To the firſt great river which they diſcovered, and which was called, by the Indians, Powhatan, They, in honour of their ſovereign, gave the name of James River.

After the moſt careful examination of every part of it, the Engliſh, by unanimous conſent, fixed on a peninſula, nearly fifty miles from the entrance, which, excluſive of the goodneſs of the ſoil, was eſteemed the fitteſt place for their own ſecurity, and the management of their commerce. Two thirds of it was ſurrounded by the main river, which every where afforded ſafe anchorage. Along the other third, flowed a ſmall narrow river, capable of receiving ſeveral veſſels of the burthen of one hundred tons, until it reached within thirty yards of the main river, into which it generally ran, during the ſpring tides. Hence, the land, on which they choſe to erect their town, obtained the name of Iſland. In the back river, ſhips, and ſmall veſſels might ride, laſhed to each other, and be moored aſhore, ſecure from the violence of the wind and weather.

The whole iſland (the capital place of which was called James Town,) contained nearly two thouſand acres of high land, and ſeveral thouſand acres of firm marſh-land, which produced a fine paſturage. The Eng-

(*g*) April 26, 1607.

Engliſh, who had erected caſtles, and a fort, lived here, in great ſecurity from the irruptions of the Indians; but although it was not in the power of a neighbouring enemy to excite diſturbances, their own mutual animoſities were attended by alarming conſequences, and their ruin appeared the nearer in its approach, whilſt they not only indulged an ungovernable rapacity in their attempts to ſeize the treaſures of the Indians, but embraced all opportunities of overreaching each other in affairs of commerce.

As the merchant-adventurers, whoſe names have been already mentioned, were, by charter, inveſted with the proper powers, they had drawn up inſtructions (not to be opened until the arrival of the Engliſh, at Virginia,) for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, to remain under the governance of a preſident, and Council choſen annually. The moſt zealous, and ſerviceable inſtrument in the promotion of the meaſures was captain Smith, whole aſſociates withdrew from him their ſupport, and treated him with equal perfidy, and Ingratitude. His activity, and experience, the laſt of which was particularly conſpicuous in all maritime affairs, inſtead of attracting the reſpect, had excited the envy of the Majority, from the inveteracy of whoſe perſecutions, it ſhould ſeem that even death was not, in their opinion, too ſevere a puniſhment for the unremitted, and frequently ſucceſsful exertions of his ſuperior abilities. Wingfield, the preſident, and the chief promoter of the conſpiracy againſt him, was avaritious, proud, inſolent, and implacable in his reſentments. Having availed himſelf of the abſence of Smith, who was engaged in attempts to effectuate the eſtabliſhment of a treaty of commerce with the Indian kings, he concerted meaſures which were intended to have terminated in his deſtruction. Falſe witneſſes

neſſes were ſuborned to prove, on oath, the criminality of his conduct (*h*), and he was not only excluded from the council, although he had been nominated a member, by the company in England, but caſt into a loathſome priſon, where he lay until the forgeries of his enemies were effectually diſcovered, and defeated. At this favourable juncture, he was elected a member of the council; his adverſary Wingfield was depoſed, and Ratcliff, ſucceeding to the preſidency, intruſted Smith, of whoſe talents for government he was ſufficiently convinced, with the full adminiſtration of affairs.

At the expiration of five weeks, the ſhips were freighted, and in readineſs, when captain Newport departed for England (*i*), leaving more than one hundred men, ſettled under that form of government which hath already been deſcribed. The fleet had ſcarcely ſailed, when freſh diſſentions broke out amongſt the coloniſts, and the general proſperity of the

(*h*) A naval hiſtorian * hath obſerved, in a note, that Smith was accuſed of an intention to uſurp the government, to put to death every member of the council, and then proclaim himſelf the ſovereign of the place. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he was charged with having placed confederates in each ſhip, and informed that ſeveral of them had diſcovered his conſpiracy. Theſe aſperſions proved, at length, the mere reſult of Envy, and reſentments as violent as they were unjuſt. It is remarked that accuſations were lodged againſt him during the voyage, and whilſt the Engliſh were within ſight of the Canaries. Some hiſtorians have aſſerted that he was then confined, and not releaſed until the expiration of thirteen weeks, and after the departure of captain Newport. This laſt account is certainly erroneous, as, under ſuch circumſtances, Smith could not have been engaged in the negociation of a treaty with the Indian kings.

* Mr. Lediard.

(*i*) June 15, 1606.

the whole was once more, on the point of being ſacrificed to the intrigues of a corrupted party.

Yet in the midſt of theſe contentions, the Engliſh erected houſes, and fortifications, nor did they ſuffer themſelves to be drawn aſide, by the violence of animoſities, from the culture of the ground, and the preſervation of their commerce with the Indians. To this laſt object, they attended with a degree of eagerneſs which might have inſured ſucceſs, had they been tied down by any reſtrictions in trade, or at leaſt, prevented from the exerciſe of the dangerous cuſtom of out-bidding one another. It was this circumſtance which not only leſſened their own profit, but created jealouſies amongſt the Indians; who, little ſkilled in the practices of trade, and perceiving that the articles of merchandize were not ſold to all at the ſame prices, exclaimed that they who purchaſed, at the higheſt rates were fraudulently dealt with. Hence aroſe that hatred which the Indians conceived againſt the Engliſh, and which they afterwards gratified in the commiſſion of the moſt violent hoſtilities.

The coloniſts ſubſiſted, until the following year, on proviſions with which they were ſupplied in exchange for ſeveral of the commodities of Europe. At length, one veſſel arrived, with Men, and all neceſſary ſtores. The other having been driven back to the Caribbee iſlands, did not reach the ſettlement, until the former had departed, on her return to England.

At this period, the attention of the coloniſts was totally diverted from all objects of ſuperior neceſſity, and importance, by one, which whilſt it preſented to imaginations, inflamed with avarice, with the views of future opulence, led imperceptibly to deſtruction. In a neck of land, on the back of James-Town-Iſland, they had diſcovered a ſtream of freſh water, that, iſſuing

iſſuing from a ſmall bank, waſhed down its ſides a kind of yellow duſt-iſinglaſs, which, having been cleanſed in its paſſage, lay ſhining at the bottom, and bore the appearance of gold. The Engliſh, who ſuppoſed it to be that valuable metal, were inceſſantly employed in conveying it to their habitations. During theſe purſuits, their proviſions became almoſt entirely expended; and as they had not allowed themſelves the leaſt time to inquire for freſh ſupplies, they ſoon felt themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſubſiſting on crabs, Muſcles, and the wild fruits of the earth. Their wretched ſituation had gone far towards convincing them of the abſurdity of their hopes; and their misfortunes were now imbittered by the cruelty of the Indians, who waited in ambuſh for the purpoſe of deſtroying them, and ſo far ſucceeded in their treacherous reſolution as to ſlay numbers. The reſt, dreading the ſame fate, durſt not venture from their habitations, and, unable to procure the common neceſſaries of life, were on the point of periſhing.

At this alarming juncture, a ſhip arrived from England, and the Coloniſts again turned all their thoughts to the acquiſition of their imaginary gold. With it, and a ſmall quantity of ſkins, furs, and cedar, they freighted this veſſel, and directed the commander to proceed immediately on his paſſage homewards. The ſecond veſſel which reached the ſettlement was alſo laden with the ſame duſt, and inſtantly ſailed back to England.

Soon after the departure of theſe ſhips, and when the violence of avarice appeared to have been allayed, captain Smith, who had long, but vainly, endeavoured to convince his aſſociates of their error, propoſed that they ſhould engage in enterprizes leſs deluſive in their nature,

nature, and more conformable to the inſtructions of the company. Accordingly, under the direction of this experienced, and active officer, they made ſeveral important diſcoveries in James-River, and Cheſapeak Bay; and, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, firſt gathered Indian corn of their own planting.

Whilſt Smith, and his aſſociates were proceeding on an expedition amongſt the ſavages, they were treacherouſly aſſaulted by three hundred Indians, under the command of one of their petty kings, called Pamaunkee, who, having gained the victory, ſlew all the Engliſh, except their leader, whom he conveyed a priſoner to Powhatan, the chief ſovereign (*k*), at the interceſſion of whoſe daughter, Pocahontas, his life was ſaved. With this mercy, Smith alſo received his liberty, and returned, in ſafety, to James-Town, where he was unanimouſly deſired by the remaining coloniſts to become their preſident, on the reſignation of Mr. Ratcliff.

Whilſt theſe diſcoveries were making by captain Smith, to whoſe talents, activity, and reſolution, muſt be attributed the ſucceſs of the enterprizes, and the momentary tranquility which prevailed within the ſettlement, the coloniſts at James-Town, availing

(*k*) Smith, in his general hiſtory of Virginia, obſerves that, previous to his being made a priſoner, he had placed his Indian guide before him, as a ſhield, and, thus defended, ſlew three of the ſavages, and wounded ſo many more, that none of the reſt durſt venture near him. In this manner, he attempted to retire to his boat, keeping the Indian in the midway, and oppoſite to the enemy. At length, not obſerving the ground, he fell, as high as the waiſt, into a ſlough, and dragged the Indian after him. Even here, the ſavages durſt not approach him, until, almoſt periſhing with cold, he threw away his arms, and ſurrendered.

themſelves of the abſence of their chief, broke out into freſh diſſentions, during which a conſiderable number attempted to leave the place, and ſet ſail in the ſmalleſt veſſel which was at anchor in the harbour. Thus were the Engliſh expoſed, by their own miſeonduct, to calamities not leſs irretrievable than their ſufferings in conſequence of the violent hoſtilities committed by the Indians.

Yet, amidſt theſe dreadful interruptions to the proſperity of infant ſettlements, ſo ſucceſsful were the Engliſh, at this period increaſed nearly to five hundred men, that they eſtabliſhed two more plantations; the firſt at Nahſamond, in James-River, more than thirty miles below James-Town, and the ſecond at Powhatan, ſix miles below the falls of James-River. The laſt place was purchaſed of the king of the country, for a certain quantity of copper; and each plantation conſiſted of an hundred, and twenty men. Shortly afterwards, the Engliſh made another ſettlement, at Kiguotan, near the mouth of James-River. From ſuch ſmall beginnings did Virginia riſe to that importance which it hath ſince enjoyed (*l*).

We now return to an occurrence in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, which the neceſſary relation of a chain of facts hath hitherto obliged us to paſs over. At this period, the Muſcovy company prepared once more the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage,

(*l*) Theſe particulars, relative to the eſtabliſhment of a colony in the ſouthern parts of Virginia, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1683, 1705.——Introduction to the coll. of voyages, 6 vol. in folio, p. 56.——Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 41.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 13.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 221 —and Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 411, 412, 413, 414, 415.

paſſage, and having, for that purpoſe, equipped a bark, of the burthen of forty tons, gave the command of it to captain John Knight. On the eighteenth of April, this officer departed from Graveſend, and, on the nineteenth of June, reached America. Diſembarking with the reſt of his aſſociates, they were attacked, and maſſacred by the ſavages. The reſt of the company, at a time when the veſſel had ſprung a leak, and unſhipped her rudder, gallantly repelled the attack of fifty Indians, and having repaired the damages which they ſuffered, proceeded to Newfoundland. When they had obtained the neceſſary relief from the inhabitants of this place, they ſet ſail for England, and, on the twentieth of September, arrived at Dartmouth (*m*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, the Eaſt-India company appointed William Keeling their chief commander, on their third voyage. Under him were three hundred, and ten perſons, in ſhips, of which the names were the Dragon, the Hector, and the Conſent. Shortly after her departure, the laſt veſſel ſailed forward alone, and the other two ſeparated at Deliſa, a road near the North of Socotora, in the Arabian ſea. Keeling, in the Dragon, directed his courſe towards Bantam, and Captain Hawkins, in the Hector, proceeded for Surat. When the former, and his aſſociates, arrived at their deſtined port, they diſcovered that the Dutch had made earlier acquiſitions than themſelves, and not only freighted two ſhips with cloves, but were preparing to lade two more with pepper. They, notwithſtanding, had the good for-

(*m*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76.——Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 827.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 415.

tune to obtain a cargo, and, at length, returned to England.

At Surat, captain Hawkins diſembarked, and, having ordered the company of the Hector to proceed with the ſhip, to the iſles of Banda, travelled, by land, to the court of the Great Mogul, at Agra, for the purpoſe of negociating the affairs of the company, and eſtabliſhing their commerce, in different parts of the Eaſt-Indies.

On the arrival of the Engliſh, belonging to the Hector, at the iſles of Banda, they were obliged, inſtantly, to engage in the regulations of the cuſtoms, and payments, which were a part in money, and a part in merchandize. Having adjuſted this point, they proceeded to introduce a trade, but met with great obſtacles to their endeavours from the inſidious practices of the Dutch, who, when they diſcovered that the Engliſh were in treaty with the natives of Puloway, for the eſtabliſhment of a factory in that iſland, made uſe of every effort to prevent them from ſucceeding. They were not, however, able to hinder them from obtaining nearly thirteen hundred weight of mace, and half a ton of nutmegs.

In the mean time, the Engliſh having been informed that the Dutch intended to erect a fort at Banda, foreſaw the pernicious conſequences which muſt ariſe from ſuch a meaſure, and, therefore, propoſed to the chief inhabitants of the place, that they ſhould embrace an opportunity previous to the conſtruction of the fort, and make a formal delivery of the ſpot, in the name of the king of England, to his ſubjects, then preſent. With this expedient, they appeared willing to concur, yet were treacherouſly leaning to the intereſt of the Dutch, whom they affected to deſpiſe. Conſtant in their declarations of friendſhip, and attachment to

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the Engliſh, they had affirmed that their ſpices ſhould be ſuffered to rot on the trees, rather than that the Dutch ſhould poſſeſs a ſingle ounce; yet they would never accede to meaſures deſigned to curb the power of the latter, and, in ſecret, gave the preference to the party which oppoſed the Engliſh. An hiſtorian (*n*) hath obſerved that they actually ſigned a treaty of commerce in favour of the laſt; but if this be fact, it is equally true that they broke it; a violation of faith for which they were ſeverely puniſhed, when the Dutch, having compleated their fort, treated them, and the Engliſh, with the moſt barbarous, and unexampled inſolence.

The Bandaneſe, incenſed at their behaviour, were now determined to obtain revenge, and, having inticed the Dutch admiral, with his chief followers, and the council, to a convenient ſpot, they put them inſtantly to the ſword. They next deviſed a plot for the deſtruction of the reſt, and would certainly have carried it into execution, but that the Engliſh interpoſed ſucceſsfully on their behalf. To this bounty, they made the baſeſt returns; and, in May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, prepared for the commiſſion of hoſtilities. In the ſucceeding month, they placed many unreaſonable reſtraints on the commerce of the Engliſh, to all of which they were under the neceſſity of ſubmitting, being only ſixty-two in number, and, conſequently unable to reſiſt the oppreſſions of more than one thouſand of their adverſaries.

In the month of July, the power, and inſolence of the Dutch had ariſen to ſuch extremes, that they delivered to the Engliſh an order, ſigned by the vice-admiral, and the members of the council, to depart be-

(*n*) Purchas.

before the expiration of five days. They were obliged to compound with their formidable adverſaries for a longer ſtay, and yet, after a ſhort indulgence, were driven from the place, without having been permitted to compleat their lading.

From the iſles of Banda, the Engliſh ſailed to Bantam, where they took in three thouſand, four hundred, and eighty-one bags of pepper, and having, in the month of May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, eſtabliſhed a factory at this place, they returned to England, without the loſs of a ſingle man (*o*).

We muſt now acquaint the reader that the Conſent, a veſſel of the burthen of one hundred, and fifteen tons, and commanded by captain David Middleton, the brother of Sir Henry, ſoon quitted the other ſhips, and proceeded on a different voyage. In the month of July, ſhe arrived within the bay of Soldania, and from thence, Middleton, and his aſſociates, directed their courſe to Bantam, where they ſold their cargo of lead and iron; and purchaſed other goods vendible at the Moluccas, towards which place they ſet ſail on the ſixth of December, and arrived there, at the beginning of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight. Here they remained until the middle of March, but were greatly obſtructed in their commerce by the Spaniards, who, at length, endeavoured to put a ſtop to their negociations, and, with much eagerneſs, preſſed them to depart.

The natives, more courteous, endeavoured to trade with them ſecretly, and during the night, but were ſoon prevented from maintaining their intercourſe, by the

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 416, 417.

the Spaniards, who peremptorily inſiſted that the Engliſh ſhould ſet ſail immediately.

Accordingly, they departed from the Moluccas, and, on the twenty-third of April, entered the ſtreights of Bangava. Here the natives diſcovered an inclination to engage in commerce with them, and ſolicited their attention by every favour which they could beſtow. From the king of Botun, they received the moſt eſſential ſervices. He viſited them, on board of the Conſent, invited them to his chief town, and directed a pilot to conduct their veſſel thither. Here, this Prince renewed his civilities, and when ſome Javan ſhips arrived within the harbour, freighted with cloves, he ſuffered the whole cargo to be turned over, in exchange for European commodities, to the Engliſh.

Thus, ſucceſsful, they took their leaves of this hoſpitable monarch, and returned to Bantam, where they arrived, on the twenty-ſecond of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, and, having ended their trade, departed, on the fifteenth of July, for England (*p*).

In this year, alſo, began the fourth general voyage to the Eaſt-Indies. On the fourteenth of March, the Aſcenſion, and the Union, ſailed from Woolwich, under the chief command of captain Alexander Sharpey. They kept company as far as the bay of Soldania, where they arrived on the thirteenth of July, and remained until the twenty-fifth of September. Soon after their departure from this place, the two ſhips were ſeparated, and the Aſcenſion bore up with the iſlands of

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 94.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 94.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 417.

Comora, between Saint Lawrence, and the main, where the Engliſh received great civilities from the ſovereign of the country.

They next fell in with the iſland of Pemba, ſituated in ſix degrees of ſouth latitude, where they experienced ſuch treachery as induced them to name the place, Hell. Having quitted it, they took three pangays, or barks, belonging to the moors of Melinda, and carried all their principal men, to the number of fifty, on board of their own ſhip. But this action had like to have coſt them dear, for, although the Moors had ſuffered themſelves to be eaſily taken, it was only that they might gain an opportunity of being ſeverely revenged by the maſſacre of their captors, and the ſeizure of their veſſel. Availing themſelves of a time when the Engliſh were the moſt unguarded, they ſuddenly drew their long knives, and dreadfully wounded the miniſter, one of the merchants, and two mates. The reſt now ſtood ſo gallantly on their defence that of the fifty Moors, they ſlew forty, who proved to be of the beſt quality in Melinda; and ſome were of royal blood. Having ſent the remaining ten on ſhore to carry the news of the deaths of their countrymen, the Engliſh, ſenſible that it muſt be inconſiſtent with their ſafety, to remain long near the place, crouded every ſail, and ſtood out to ſea.

In January, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, the Engliſh fell in with a cluſter of thirteen pleaſant, and fertile iſlands, but deſtitute of inhabitants, for which reaſon, they called them, the Deſolate Iſlands.

From thence, they arrived, in April, at Aden, a place under the ſovereignty of the Grand Turk, and the key to Arabia Felix. Here they were courteouſly entertained by the baſhaw, and left two merchants,

for

for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement. Their ſucceſs in this meaſure was obtained at a dear price. As they had not any patent from the Grand Signor, the baſhaw pretended that he only granted to them the freedom of commerce, by connivance, and in return for the favour, took from them the whole parcel of valuable cloth which they had ſent up to the place of his reſidence.

The Engliſh next ſet ſail for Moha, or Mocha, a city on the Red Sea, and the grand ſtaple for all the Indian trade, where they alſo found a courteous reception. From hence, they proceeded to Cambaya; where the ſhip was loſt on the ſhoals, at the diſtance of eighteen leagues from the ſhore, a calamity, which in ſome meaſure, muſt be attributed to the obſtinacy of the captain, who refuſed to take a pilot, notwithſtanding that he was forewarned of dangers. The crew had the good fortune to reach the land, and travelled to Surat, from whence they returned, in ſafety, to England.

When the Union had weathered out the ſtorm which aroſe ſoon after her ſeparation from the Aſcenſion, ſhe came to an anchor, at the iſland of Saint Lawrence, and next proceeded to Zanzibar, where the natives proved as traiterous as the ſavages at Pemba. From this place, ſhe ſailed for Madagaſcar; and entered the bay, at the expiration of a fortnight. Here, the Engliſh were expoſed to the moſt alarming dangers, and ſuffered great loſſes in conſequence of the barbarity, and rapacious diſpoſition of the inhabitants.

From Madagaſcar, they directed their courſe to Achen, where, at length, ſurmounting a formidable oppoſition which proceeded from the Dutch, they were taken under the protection of the king, who generouſly aſſiſted them in the eſtabliſhment of a commerce with the Guzurats. Having remained, during ſome time,

time, at this place, they proceeded to Priaman, ſituated on the ſame iſland of Sumatra, where they at once engaged in ſo extenſive, and proſperous a commerce, that their felicity, at this ſettlement, ſeemed amply to compenſate for their paſt misfortunes. Having procured a full cargo of pepper, and other commodities, they ſet ſail for England, but were detained on their paſſage, by a variety of occurrences more unfortunate than any in which they had hitherto engaged (*q*).

On the firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, a veſſel which had been equipped at the expence of ſeveral merchants, of the port of London, ſet ſail from Graveſend, under the command of Mr. Henry Hudſon, who, attended by nine men, and a boy, was directed to attempt diſcoveries towards the north pole. On the twenty-ſeventh of June, they deſcried Greenland. As the wind was favourable, they coaſted it, in a ſmooth ſea, without ground at an hundred fathom, and diſtant four leagues from the land. They now ſuppoſed that the were in the latitude of ſeventy-eight degrees, and not far from Vogel Hook. On the fourteenth of July, they entered the bay which hath ſince borne the name of Hudſon. At the mouth of it were thirty fathoms water; beyond it ſeventy-ſix fathoms; but, farther on, no ground could be diſcovered at the depth of an hundred fathoms; a circumſtance which induced them to conclude that it was rather a ſound, than a bay. On the ſouthern ſide of it, lay three ſmall iſlands, or rocks. On the fifteenth, and when the wea-

(*q*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 228.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 96.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 417, 418.

weather was extremely clear, they obſerved the high-land of Greenland to the north-eaſt, and, at the diſtance of twenty leagues. If their accounts can be depended on, the land which they then ſaw ſtretched into eighty-one degrees (*r*). On the ſixteenth, having run towards the fartheſt part of the land which they had diſcovered, they could perceive more land which joined the former, and ſtretched into eighty-two degrees. The vaſt quantities of ice to the northward, prevented them from proceeding farther, and therefore, they directed their courſe, homewards, and, on the ſixteenth of September, arrived ſafely in the Thames (*s*).

It hath been pretended that this ſtreight, and bay, which bear the name of Hudſon, were firſt diſcovered by a Dane, who, in compliment to Chriſtian, the fourth, the then reigning king of Denmark, gave them the appellation of Chriſtiana. Yet Hudſon was, at leaſt, the firſt adventurer who diſcovered it to the Engliſh, and firſt ventured ſo near the extremity of the bay. During the voyage, he gave to ſeveral places, names which they ſtill retain. Amongſt theſe are Whale-bay, Hackluyt's Head-land, and Hudſon's Touches.

Let it ſuffice to inform the reader that on the twenty-ſecond of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, Mr. Hudſon, attended by fifteen perſons, ſet ſail from Saint Catherine's, in order to find a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, by the north-eaſt. The occur-

(*r*) The author of the Britiſh Empire in America obſerves that they diſcovered it only as far as eighty degrees, and twenty-three minutes.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 464.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 564.—Britiſh Empire in Ameria, V. 1. p. 383.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 2. p. 419.

occurrences of the voyage are, in general (*t*), too immaterial to be related in this work. He returned to Graveſend, on the twenty-ſixth of the enſuing month of Auguſt.

In the following year, this adventurer made a third voyage towards Nova Zembla, and, after having deſcried the northern cape of Finmark, ſailed to Newfoundland, to Cape Cod, and to Virginia.

A celebrated naval writer (*u*) after having obſerved that the diſputes for naval ſuperiority between England, and the States of Holland ſubſiſted during a courſe of ſeveral years, adds that although the Dutch were defeated in all their pretenſions, and the prerogatives of the Britiſh ſovereignty maintained in the full ſpirit of the claim, yet the ſtates appeared determined to take a future vengeance on a people who had reduced them to ſo humble a ſubmiſſion, and accordingly proceeded to ſuch acts of violence as never would have been tolerated, nor, perhaps, attempted, during the reign

(*t*) One circumſtance is, notwithſtanding, too memorable to be omitted. We introduce the paſſage which relates to it from a journal of the voyage, and leave the reader to form his judgment of the credibility of the aſſertion.

"On the fifteenth of June, one of our company, looking overboard, ſaw a Mermaid, and calling for more of the crew to obſerve her, another perſon came up, by which time ſhe had reached the ſide of the ſhip, and looked earneſtly at the men. Soon afterwards, a Wave overſet her. From the navel upwards. her back, and breaſts were like thoſe of a woman; her body as large as one of ours, her ſkin very white, and, on her head, long black hair. As ſhe ſank, we perceived her tail, which was like that of a porpoiſe, and ſpeckled alſo as is a mackrel. The names of the men who ſaw her were Thomas Hills, and Robert Rayner."

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

reign of the ſpirited Elizabeth. The great officer (*x*) who ſo thoroughly underſtood the nature of theſe tranſactions, doth not charge either the king, or his miniſtry, in general, with a puſillanimous forbearance to enforce juſtice from the Dutch to the irritated, and injured Engliſh. He throws the whole condemnation on ſecretary Cecil (*y*), who is deſcribed as having eſteemed it ſound policy to paſs by all offences of this kind. It muſt be remarked (*z*) that he doth not mention any reaſons on which ſuch policy was grounded (*a*); neither did it abſolutely, or conſtantly prevail, even in the councils of James, the firſt. On the contrary, it appears that when it was ſurmiſed that foreigners aſſumed unwarrantable liberties, by fiſhing in our ſea; a proclamation came forth (*b*), in which the right of the king to a naval ſovereignty, in this, as in other caſes, on the adjoining ocean, was firmly, and poſitively aſſerted; and all foreign nations were cautioned not to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſt. This prohibition, although general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themſelves much affected thereby; and, eſpecially, when

(*x*) Sir William Monſon.

(*y*) Afterwards created earl of Saliſbury.

(*z*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

(*a*) The reader will find the diſpatches of this miniſter, in Winwood's memorials. The great point for which the States of Holland contended, was the neceſſity that England ſhould obſerve in matters which related to them, the old treaties with the houſe of Burgundy. Perhaps, the earl of Saliſbury countenanced the Dutch, becauſe his father had perſuaded Elizabeth to inſiſt on thoſe treaties as ſufficient to juſtify her, when, notwithſtanding her leagues with Spain, ſhe extended her aſſiſtance to the provinces. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 244.

(*b*) A. D. 1608.

when the king appointed commiſſioners at London, for the purpoſe of granting licences to ſuch foreigners as deſired to fiſh on the Engliſh coaſt; and, likewiſe, at Edinburgh, that they might confer the ſame powers on thoſe who ſollicited for leave to fiſh within the Northern ſea. The Dutch, although with great reluctance, ſubmitted, at this period, to ſuch offenſive regulations; nor can any motive be aſſigned for ſo paſſive an acquieſcence, except that affairs which they then endeavoured to negociate, at the court of Great Britain, were of the firſt importance to the public welfare of their States (*c*). Here, in ſpite of former inſults, they proved ſucceſsful; and, on the twenty-ſixth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, two treaties were concluded between the crown of Great Britain, and the States-General. The one was of peace, and alliance; and the other reſpected the calculation, and ſettlement of the debt due to James, the firſt (*d*). It is remarked (*e*) that one obvious inference might have been that the advantages which reſulted from theſe treaties, ought to have brought the republic to a better temper concerning matters of a different nature. Yet ſo contrary was the effect of this ocurrence, tthat, not long afterwards, the Dutch diſputed the payment of the aſſize-herring, in Scotland, and the licence money, in

(*c*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 358, 359.—England's Way to win Wealth, &c. by Tobias Gentleman. London, 1614. Quarto. In this ſcarce, and curious tract, which is dedicated to the earl of Northampton, are deſcribed at large, the injuries which the Britiſh nation ſuffered, when the Dutch fiſhed within their Seas—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*d*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom 16. p. 674. et ſequen.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

in England, and, in order to protect their fellow-ſubjects from the penalties which might attend ſuch a refuſal, they ſent ſhips of force to eſcort their herring-buſſes (*f*). A naval hiſtorian (*g*) judged it neceſſary to relate theſe inconteſtable facts, although without the leaſt prejudice againſt the Dutch, who certainly deſerve to be commended for all ſuch inſtances of public ſpirit as appear to be conſiſtent with the rights of their neighbours, and the law of nations (*h*).

At this period, the miniſters, who ſtood too much in awe of parliaments, to run the hazard of loſing any of the national rights, in conſequence of a neglect to inſiſt on them, prevailed on James to republiſh the following proclamation, that the commons might be convinced that they had done their duty, and alſo, adviſe with the king concerning the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued.

The PROCLAMATION concerning FISHING.

"WHEREAS, We have been contented, ſince our "coming to the crown, to tolerate an indif-"ferent, and promiſcuous kind of liberty, to all our "friends whatſoever, to fiſh within our ſtreams, and "upon any of our coaſt of Great-Britain, Ireland, "and other adjacent iſlands, ſo far forth as the per-"miſſion, or uſe thereof, might not redound to the "impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the "hurt,

(*f*) Seldeni Mare Clauſ. Lib. 2. Cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. Cap. 60. et Rot. Parliament. 6. ejuſdem Cap. 86.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*h*) The vouchers for theſe facts may all be found in the paper-office.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

" hurt, and damage of our loving ſubjects, whoſe
" preſervation, and flouriſhing eſtate, we hold our-
" ſelves principally bound to advance before all world-
" ly reſpects: ſo finding, that our continuance there-
" in, hath not only given occaſion of over-great en-
" croachments upon our regalities, or rather queſtion-
" ing of our right, but hath been a mean of daily
" wrongs to our own people, that exerciſe the trade
" of fiſhing, as (either by the multitude of ſtrangers,
" which do pro-occupy thoſe places, or by the inju-
" ries which they receive moſt commonly at their
" hands) our ſubjects are conſtrained to abandon their
" fiſhing, or at leaſt, are become ſo diſcouraged in the
" ſame, as they hold it better for them to betake
" themſelves to ſome other courſe of living, where-
" by not only diverſe of our coaſt-towns are much
" decayed, but the number of our mariners daily di-
" miniſhed, which is a matter of great conſequence to
" our eſtate, conſidering how much the ſtrength
" thereof conſiſteth in the power of ſhipping, and
" uſe of navigation; We have thought it now both
" juſt, and neceſſary, in reſpect, that we are now,
" by GOD's favours, lineally, and lawfully poſſeſſed,
" as well of the iſland of Great Britain, as of Ireland,
" and the reſt of the iſles adjacent; to bethink our-
" ſelves of good, and lawful means, to prevent thoſe
" inconveniencies, and many others depending on the
" ſame. In conſideration whereof, as we are deſir-
" ous that the world may take notice, that we have
" no intention to deny our neighbours, and allies,
" thoſe fruits, and benefits of peace, and friendſhip,
" which may be juſtly expected at our hands, in ho-
" nour, and reaſon, or are afforded by other princes
" mutually in the Point of Commerce, and Exchange
" of thoſe Things which may not prove prejudicial to
" Them;

" them; ſo becauſe ſome ſuch convenient order may " be taken in this matter, as may ſufficiently provide " for all thoſe important conſiderations which depend " thereupon; we have reſolved, firſt, to give notice " to all the world, that our expreſs pleaſure is, that, " from the beginning of the month of Auguſt next " coming, no perſon of what nation or quality ſo- " ever, being not our natural born ſubject, be per- " mitted to fiſh upon any of our coaſts, and ſeas of " Great-Britain, Ireland, and the reſt of the iſles ad- " jacent, where moſt uſually heretofore any fiſhing " hath been, until they have orderly demanded, and " obtained licences from us, or ſuch our commiſſi- " oners as we have authorized in that behalf, viz. at " London, for our Realms of England, and Ireland, and " at Edinburgh, for our realm of Scotland, which li- " cences our intention is, ſhall be yearly demanded for " ſo many veſſels, and ſhips, and the tonnage there- " of, as ſhall intend to fiſh for that whole year, or any " part thereof, upon any of our coaſts, and ſeas, as " aforeſaid, upon pain of ſuch chaſtiſement, as ſhall " be fit to be inflicted upon ſuch as are wilful offend- " ers."

Given, at our palace of Weſtminſter, on the ſixth day of May, in the ſeventh year of our reign of Great Britain, Anno Dom. 1609.

We cannot, in this place, take leave of the ſubject, without obſerving that, during the reign of James, ſome contentions aroſe with the French, relative to the ſame right of fiſhery, and the ſovereignty of the ſea; but theſe were determined under every reſpect, in

four of the Engliſh, through the prudent, and gallant conduct of Sir William Monſon (*i*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, complaints were made to the king that great abuſes, frauds, corruptions, negligencies, miſdemeanours, and offences, were committed in the management of the navy, and other offices, thereunto belonging, and likewiſe that the officers, ſoldiers, and mariners, in the ſervice of the royal fleet had purſued a conduct which merited the ſevereſt reprehenſion. It was therefore deemed neceſſary to appoint a committee of inquiry, who were to deliver their report concerning the ground, and juſtice of theſe complaints. A copy, from the original regiſter is here ſubmitted to the inſpection of the reader.

MS. in BIBL. COTTON. Jul. F. III. Fol. 3.

"JAMES, by the grace of GOD, king of Eng-
" land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender
" of the faith, &c. To our right truſty, and right
" well-beloved couſins, and counſellors, Henry, earl
" of Northampton, lord keeper of our privy ſeal,
" and lord warden of our Cinque Ports, and Charles,
" earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England,
" and to our right truſty, and well-beloved counſel-
" lors, Edward, lord Zouch, and Edward, lord Wot-
" ton, comptroller of our houſhold; and to our
" truſty, and right well-beloved counſellors, Sir Julius
" Cæſar, Knight, chancellor, and under-treaſurer
" of

(*i*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 243.—Gentleman's England's Way to win Wealth, p. 341—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 18.

" of our exchequer; and to Sir Thomas Parry, knight,
" chancellor of our duchy of Lancaſter; and to our
" truſty, and well-beloved, Sir Edward Philips,
" knight, and to Sir John Doderige, knight, our ſer-
" jeants at law, Sir Henry Hobart, knight, our at-
" torney-general, Sir Francis Bacon, knight, our
" ſollicitor-general, Sir William Woade, knight, our
" lieutenant of our tower of London, Sir Chriſtopher
" Perkins, knight, Sir Robert Cotton, knight, Sir
" Thomas Crompton, knight, and to John Corbet, eſ-
" quire, one of the clerks of our privy council, greeting.
" Whereas we are informed, that very great, and in-
" tolerable abuſes, deceits, frauds, corruptions,
" negligences, miſdemeanors, and offences have been,
" and daily are, perpetrated, committed, and done,
" againſt the continual admonitions, and directions
" of you, our high-admiral, by other the officers
" of, and concerning our Navy Royal, and by the
" clerks of the prick, and check, and divers other in-
" ferior officers, miniſters, ſoldiers, mariners, and
" others, ſerving, working, or labouring, in, or about
" our ſaid Navy, or other things concerning the ſame,
" the great decay, hinderance, and weakening of
" our ſaid Navy Royal, and of our ſtores, and pro-
" viſions belonging to the ſame; being, under GOD's
" providence, one of the principal ſtrengths, and de-
" fences of our crown, and kingdoms, We, mind-
" ing that the ſaid intolerable abuſes, frauds, miſde-
" meanours, and offences, ſhall forthwith be inquired
" of, the offenders therein condignly puniſhed, and
" alſo to provide a ſpeedy reformation, of the ſame,
" for the time to come. And repoſing aſſured truſt,
" and confidence in your approved wiſdoms, fideli-
" ties, and circumſpections, have aſſigned, and ap-
" pointed you to be our commiſſioners, and do, by

" theſe preſents, give and grant full and free liber-
" ty, power, and authority unto you, or any three,
" or more of you, as is aforeſaid, as well the treaſu-
" rer, comptroller, ſurveyor, clerk of the navy,
" purveyors, and other officers of the Navy, whatſo-
" ever, that now are, as thoſe that have been in the
" ſaid offices, ſince the year one thouſand, five
" hundred, and ninety-eight, and all, and every, or any
" of their ſervants, Deputies, officers, or ſubſtitutes,
" as all other ſuch inferior officers, and miniſters,
" whatſoever, having, or pretending to have, or that
" have had, or pretended to have, any office, charge,
" function, or Employment, whatſoever, in, or about
" our ſaid Navy, and all other Perſons, who have had
" any meddling, or dealing, with the buying, ſel-
" ling, bringing-in, or carrying-forth, taking-in, or
" delivering-out, or any other kind of dealing, in,
" about, or concerning the ſtores, and proviſions be-
" longing to our navy. And alſo all maſters of ſhips,
" purſers, boatſwains, ſhipwrights, artificers, la-
" bouring men, ſoldiers, mariners, and other per-
" ſons whatſoever, that are, or have been, appointed
" to any charge, office, labour, employment, or
" buſineſs, in or about our ſaid navy. And all other
" perſons whatſoever, whom you, or any three, or
" more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit. And
" to inquire, ſearch, diſcover, and find out, as well by
" the oaths of good, and lawful men, by whom the
" truth of the premiſes may be beſt known, as alſo
" by examination of witneſſes, and by all other
" ways, and means, whatſoever, which to you, or
" any three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall ſeem
" convenient, all, and every the abuſes, deceits,
" frauds, corruptions, negligences, miſdemeanors,
" and offences aforeſaid. And, alſo to cauſe all, and

" every

" every the ſaid officers of our navy, and other per-
" ſons, whom you, or any three, or more of you, as
" is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit, to bring, or cauſe to be
" brought, before you, or any three, or more of you,
" as is aforeſaid, all, and every their books of entry,
" books of office, regiſter-books, books of accounts,
" books of ſurvey, books of iſſues, both rough-
" books, and quarter books, of prick, and all other
" books, and writings, which they, or any of them,
" keep, or ought to keep, by reaſon of their ſeveral
" offices, and places. And to ſurvey, peruſe, caſt up,
" and examine all their ſaid books, accounts, and
" writings, and alſo to cauſe them, and every, or
" any of them, to ſhew unto you, or any three, or
" more of you, as is aforeſaid, all ſuch warrants, or
" diſcharges, as they, or any of them, can produce,
" for, or concerning any matter, or thing, by them,
" or any of them, done, touching, or concerning our
" ſaid navy, or touching, or concerning any proviſi-
" ons, victuals, ſtores, pay, or other things, belong-
" ing to our ſaid navy. And for your more eaſe,
" and expedition of this our commiſſion, our will,
" and pleaſure is, that you, or any three, or more of
" you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall appoint ſuch of our au-
" ditors, and clerks to attend upon you, or any three,
" or more of you, as is aforeſaid, for the caſting up
" of the ſaid accounts, and performance of ſuch other
" buſineſs, in and about the premiſes, as you, or any
" three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit,
" for the better expediting of our ſaid ſervice. For
" which purpoſe, we do alſo by theſe preſents,
" ſtrictly charge and command our ſaid auditors,
" and clerks, to be ready, and attendant upon you,
" or any three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, as
" often as you ſhall require the ſame. And for that

" it may ſometimes fall out, that divers perſons, whoſe " examinations, depoſitions, and confeſſions are very " neceſſary to be had, for the diſcovery of the truth, " and certainty of the premiſſes, are either dwelling, or " abiding in far remote countries, and places, where- " by their teſtimony may be loſt, or their coming " up very chargeable; or are otherwiſe ſo ſick, or im- " potent, as they cannot travel. Therefore, We are " well pleaſed, for the eaſe of ſuch perſons, that every " note, or writing, ſubſcribed with the hands of " you, or any three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, " and directed to the lord chancellor of England, or " to the lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, for " the time being, requiring therein, that a commiſ- " ſion, or commiſſions may be made forth, under " our great ſeal of England, unto ſuch perſon, or " perſons, as you, or any three, or more of you, as is " aforeſaid, ſhall think good, for the taking of the " confeſſions, examinations, or depoſitions of ſuch " perſon, or perſons, as you, or any three, or more of " you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit to be examined, " touching the premiſes, or any part thereof, ſhall, " from time, to time, be a good, and ſufficient war- " rant, and diſcharge unto you, the ſaid lord Chan- " cellor, or lord keeper, of the great ſeal, for the " making forth of every ſuch commiſſion, and com- " miſſions, under our great ſeal, accordingly. And " our farther will, and pleaſure is, and We do here- " by ſtrictly charge, and command you, our ſaid " commiſſioners, or any three, or more of you, as is " aforeſaid, to certify unto us, from time, to time, " of your proceedings herein, to the end that we may " take ſuch farther order therein, as we ſhall think " meet. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe " our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelf,

" at

" at Weſtminſter, on the thirtieth day of April, in the " ſixth year of our reign of England, France, and " Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fortieth."

P bre de privato Sigillo.

On the twenty-fourth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, captain David Middleton, ſailed, in the Expedition, from the Downs, for Java, and Banda. The particulars related concerning this voyage, which was the fifth made on the account of the Eaſt-India company, are confined chiefly to the perfidy of the Dutch, notwithſtanding whoſe intrigues, Middleton was ſo ſucceſsful to obtain, at Puloway, a large cargo of ſpices, at a period when his opponents were not able to procure a ſingle pound of the ſame commodity. For this ſucceſs he was indebted to that bravery which ſuggeſted to him the expediency of declaring to the governour, that he would trade with the natives, in ſpite of every attempt which might be made to prevent him. Intimidated by this menace, the Dutch, although their naval force was ten times ſuperior to that of Middleton, refrained from oppoſition, and ſuffered him to depart in triumph. At the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, this officer arrived, with his veſſel, at the port of London (*k*).

The unfortunate expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to Newfoundland, which he, notwithſtanding, took poſſeſſion of in the name of Elizabeth, had made

(*k*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 99.——Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 238.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 422.——In May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, James conferred on the Eaſt-India company an augmentation of their privileges, in a charter by which they were incorporated for ever.

ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Engliſh, that they could not endure the thought of tranſporting themſelves to an inhoſpitable ſhore, where it was judged difficult to procure the common neceſſaries of exiſtence. At length, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, Mr. John Guy, a merchant, and, afterwards, mayor of Briſtol, rouſed the intereſted paſſions of the multitude, by the publication of an ingenious treatiſe, which encouraged his fellow ſubjects to offer their aſſiſtance for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, at Newfoundland. His own ſolicitations for the advancement of this enterprize were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs that, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, the king made a grant of all that part of the iſland from Cape Bonaviſta, in the North, to Cape Saint Mary, in the South, to the earl of Southampton, lord keeper, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief-baron, Sir John Dodderidge, king's ſerjeant, Sir Francis Bacon, ſolicitor-general, Sir Daniel Donn, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Perceval Willoughby, Sir John Conſtable, John Weld, Eſquire, and others, who ſent over thither a colony, under the direction of Mr. Guy, who was appointed governour.

After a voyage of twenty days, this adventurer arrived at the place of his deſtination, and landed near Conception Harbour. Here, he, and his aſſociates, conſtructed huts, to ſerve as habitations during their ſtay. So courteous was the behaviour of the Engliſh, and their chief, to all the natives, that they intirely gained the friendſhip of the latter, and were permitted, without interruption, to carry thoſe meaſures into execution which were the moſt likely to accompliſh the eſtabliſhment of the colony. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe favourable occurrences, the moſt ſtrenuous endea-

endeavours of Mr. Guy, and his aſſociates were of no avail; and they, at length, returned to England (*l*).

On the third of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordſhire, a gentleman deſcended from a noble houſe, proceeded, with ſeveral adventurers, from Dartmouth, to Guiana. The veſſels employed on this voyage were the Roſe, of the burthen of eighty tons, the Patience, a pinnace, of the burthen of thirty-ſix tons, and the Lily, a ſhallop, of the burthen of nine tons. In the Roſe, were Mr. Harcourt, commander in chief, the captains, Edward Fiſher, and Edward Harvey, Mr. Edward Gifford, Mr. Thomas Harcourt, thirty-one gentlemen, and others, landmen, two Indians, and twenty-three mariners. In the Patience, were captain Michael Harcourt, with twenty gentlemen, and others, landmen, and eleven ſailors. In the Lily, of which Jaſper Lily was the maſter, were one landman, and two mariners.

On the ſeventeenth of May, they arrived in the bay of Wiapoco, and ſoon afterwards, ſeveral Indians came in canoes, and demanded who they were. Being anſwered that England was their native country, they were inſtantly freed from all apprehenſion of hoſtilities, and leaping, without ceremony, on board, accoſted their viſitors with every mark of amity, and joy. Such were the favourable impreſſions which had been given to them by the liberal conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe name they now mentioned with veneration. Theſe Indians, who appeared happy to trade with the Engliſh, were the inhabitants of a town, called Caripo, and ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the hill, at the mouth of the river Wiapoco. Their king,

(*l*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 860.——Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 3.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1876. Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 422.

king, or chief lord, who had reſided, during ſome years, in England, was then the ſhipmate of Mr. Harcourt, but did not reveal his quality, until the joy of his ſubjects, at the ſight of him, had made him known. Amongſt the Indians who came firſt on board, was one who underſtood the Engliſh language, and, having lived, ſeveral years, in the ſervice of Sir John Gilbert, was well known to many of the crew. The Indian alſo who accompanied the king had reſided, during fourteen years, in London. Theſe two men proved, afterwards, of greater ſervice to the Engliſh.

When the firſt ceremonies were paſſed, captain Harcourt informed the Indians that he was come in order to eſtabliſh a colony, and take poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of the king of England, by virtue of a grant of it firſt made by their countrymen to Sir Walter Raleigh, and next by themſelves to captain Leigh. They were now ſolemnly aſſured by Harcourt, and his aſſociates, that it was not the intention of James, their ſovereign, either to uſurp over them an illegal power, or treat them as a people in a ſtate of ſervitude; but that he was determined to approve himſelf their ſteady friend, and continual protector, and by force of arms to deliver them from the inſolences, and oppreſſions of the Caribbees. After ſome debate, the Indians conſented that the Engliſh ſhould live amongſt them, and promiſed to ſupply them with all neceſſaries, and prepare for them convenient habitations. They could not, however, forbear expreſſing their apprehenſions that ſome of their aſſurances were inſincere, and apologized for their miſtruſt by obſerving that the inattention of Sir Walter Raleigh to the performance of his word, had made them leſs ſanguine in their reliance on the plighted faith of others.

When

When the neceſſary treaties were concluded, the Engliſh diſembarked, and were courteouſly received by the natives, who conducted them to dwellings within the town, and ſituated, in different parts, on the ſide of the hill, at the foot of which the veſſels rode at anchor. When the heavy rains, which continued during a whole month, had ceaſed to fall, captain Harcourt, proceeded in ſearch of the golden mountains, which were one of the chief objects of his enterprize. Arriving at the ſpot, he could not diſcover any traces of a mine, and reproached his guide, who, during the voyage, affirmed that the earth abounded with this precious metal, for an intention to deceive him. It appears, however, that the charge was not well-grounded, and the Engliſh had reaſon to be convinced that the country afforded gold, as well from the aſſurances given to them by the natives, who ſhewed them certain images which, after an aſſay, appeared to contain, at leaſt, one third of gold, as by ocular demonſtration of great quantities of the white ſpar in which the gold engenders, and which they found to contain both gold, and ſilver. On this occaſion, the ardour of the Engliſh was much abated by the conſideration that the mines, being ſituated in the higher parts of Guiana, were too diſtant, and, perhaps, ſo powerfully guarded that all attempts to enter them muſt prove dangerous, and ineffectual.

Theſe diſappointments had nearly excited a mutiny amongſt thoſe who quitted England with the ſole view of riſing ſuddenly into opulence; but the prudence, humanity, and reſolution of Harcourt, prevented their diſſentions from running into violent extremes. Leſt a ſtate of idleneſs ſhould have rouſed the turbulency of their diſpoſition, he judged it neceſſary to put them all in action, and, with ſome of his

his aſſociates, proceeded, in order to make diſcoveries, up the river of Wiapoco, whilſt his brother, attended by the reſt, ſailed, for the ſame purpoſes, to the river Arrawary, and diſembarked on the neighbouring land, which adjoined to the river of the Amazons. He alſo in the preſence of his own people, and of the Indians, took poſſeſſion, with the uſual ceremonies, of the mountain Gomeribo, which is the uttermoſt point of land to the northward of the river Wiapoco. The mountain was now aſſigned to an Indian, who was permitted to hold the ſame, for himſelf, and his heirs, of the king of England, paying the yearly duty of a tenth part of all tobacco, cotton-wool, annoto, and other commodities growing within the limits of the ſame.

The expedition of the captains Michael Harcourt, and Harvey, to the river Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties. Their paſſage by ſea to this river was nearly an hundred leagues, and through dreadful breaks upon the flats, and ſhoals. They ſailed, likewiſe, fifty leagues up the river, and, during their whole courſe, were in flat-bottomed canoes, ſomewhat longer, but not broader than the common wherries of the Thames.

The Indians, whom they met, on the banks of the river, plainly diſcovered that they had never ſeen the face of an European. It was with difficulty that they could be induced to trade, or even converſe with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding that they perceived Indians, in their company. At length, the ſight of ſeveral trinkets had a more fortunate effect, and they agreed to take them in exchange for a ſmall quantity of proviſions. With a ſupply ſo ſcanty, the Engliſh became ſoon in want of neceſſaries, and, therefore, after having taken poſſeſſion of the country, with the

ſame

ſame forms obſerved at Gomeribo, they returned to Wiapoco.

An alarming incident now gave riſe to the departure of Mr. Harcourt. The maſter had neglected, when in England, to have the caſks bound with hoops of iron, and in this hot climate, the ſtaves ſtarted, and great quantities of beer, and freſh water, were intirely waſted. In order to obtain a ſufficient number of new, and proper caſks, the captain, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, proceeded homewards, after having appointed his brother commander in chief. To this officer, captain Harvey was joined as an aſſiſtant; and under them were Mr. Gifford, a lieutenant, and fifty men.

During the paſſage, Harcourt made ſeveral diſcoveries on the coaſts, and in many of the rivers. At length, on the twenty-ninth of November, he arrived in Ireland, and, ſoon afterwards, reached London, where, through the favour of Henry prince of Wales, he obtained a grant by patent, to him, and to his heirs, of all the coaſt called Guiana, together with the river of the Amazons; but he was ſo involved in troubles, as to be unable to ſupply his colony, and only ſent over a ſmall number of men, and certain Hollanders, whoſe attempts were, in general, unſucceſsful. Captain Harcourt, notwithſtanding, kept poſſeſſion of the place, during three years, and, in that ſpace of time, loſt only ſix of his aſſociates (*m*).

With-

(*m*) The particulars relating to the voyage to Guiana are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1267.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 715.—Appendix to Smith's General hiſtory of Virginia, p. 49—and Lediard's naval hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 423, 424.

Without entering too diffuſely into the affairs of Virginia, it may be neceſſary to inform the reader that the company in London not finding the returns which they expected from their colonies, and rightly judging that theſe diſadvantages proceeded from neglects in adminiſtration, preſented a petition to the king, and obtained a new patent, with leave to appoint a governour.

They now ſent out nine ſhips, together with numbers of men, and a large ſupply of proviſions. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and captain Newport, who, as joint governours, or commiſſioners, were inveſted with equal powers, ſailed at the ſame time; but the ſhip on board of which they were ſank (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter,) near the Bermudas. The reſt of this fleet, with the paſſengers, arrived at Virginia; but, as the coloniſts were without a chief, and refuſed to accept of any, ſuch diſorders aroſe as nearly threatened the deſtruction of the ſettlement, which, at this period, was deprived of one of its beſt ſupports, by the abſence of captain Smith, who was obliged to return to England, in order to obtain a cure of a ſevere illneſs, the conſequence of wounds which he had received, during the exploſion of a quantity of gunpowder. At his departure, he left ſix hundred men upon the ſpot, and it is remarkable that previous to the expiration of ſeven months, only ſixty remained alive. The reſt, who extravagantly waſted their proviſions, periſhed for want of neceſſaries; and the whole colony muſt have ſhared the ſame fate, if their relief had been delayed only eight days longer (*n*).

In

(*n*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 425.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, the Eaſt-India company ſent out Sir Henry Middleton, on a ſixth voyage, for their account, with a larger fleet than had hitherto been employed on ſuch occaſions. It conſiſted of four ſhips; the Trade's Increaſe, admiral, and of the burthen of one thouſand tons; the Pepper-Corn, vice-admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons; the Darling, of the burthen of nineteen tons, and a victualling bark, of the burthen of one hundred, and eighty tons.

At the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton, at Moha, he delivered the letters, and preſents, from the king, to the baſhaw, and aga, and was received by them with every appearance of reſpect, and friendſhip. This courteous conduct was, notwithſtanding, a prelude to the violence of hoſtilities. The Mahometans having in vain attempted to intice the Engliſh to quit their ſhips, and diſembark with all their effects, attacked them, with great fury, on the tenth of November, ſlew eight, and deſperately wounded fourteen, whom, together with the admiral, they caſt into priſon, and inhumanly chained them to each other, by their necks.

The Mahometans next made an attempt on the Darling, but were gallantly repulſed by the crew, who killed all their adverſaries, excepting one. So complete a victory put a ſtop to the renewal of engagements, but ſeemed to heighten the perſecution againſt the Engliſh who were impriſoned. The admiral was now threatened with the loſs of his head if he did not deliver up the ſhips, but he choſe rather to ſacrifice his life, than honour, and bravely ſet the Mahometans at defiance. Having ſuffered an impriſonment of nearly ſix months, Sir Henry Middleton found means, at the beginning of May, in the year, one thou-

thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, to eſcape, with moſt of his aſſociates, to the ſhips, which had remained in a ſafe harbour, on the coaſt of Abyſſinia. He now enjoyed an opportunity of indulging his reſentment, and of triumphing in his turn. He, therefore, diſpatched a meſſage to the aga, informing him that if he did not inſtantly releaſe the remainder of the Engliſh, and make them ample ſatisfaction for the damages which they had ſuſtained, he would ſet fire to all the ſhips within the road, and reduce the town, and citadel, to aſhes. Theſe menaces had the deſired effect; the priſoners were delivered up; the pinnace was ſent back; and eighteen thouſand rials of eight were paid, in compenſation for the injuries which had been received.

In July, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, the Engliſh quitted this inhoſpitable ſhore, and proceeded on their Indian voyage. At the commencement of September, they entered within the road of Deliſa, in the iſland of Socotora. From thence, continuing their courſe to Surat, they arrived, at the end of the ſame month, in Swally-road.

Here they received intelligence that the Portugueſe, with a formidable armament of twenty ſail, lay waiting at the bar of Surat, for the purpoſe either of intercepting them, or of obſtructing the progreſs of their trade. Sir Henry, who felt himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of loſing his voyage, or of fighting a paſſage through the fleet, reſolved to purſue the laſt expedient, and not only had the good fortune to ſail by his adverſaries, but greatly damaged their ſhips, took one frigate, and vanquiſhed the Portugueſe, in ſeveral actions on the land.

They now diſembarked, unreſiſted by the inhabitants, who, ſeduced by the groundleſs inſinuations of the

the Jeſuits, were averſe from trading with them. Perceiving, after repeated efforts, that it would be impoſſible to obtain any of the commodities of the country, the Engliſh prepared for their departure, and having taken on board the captains Hawkins, and Sharpey, together with the reſt of the factory, and their effects, ſet ſail for Dabul. On their arrival at this place, their commerce took a more ſucceſsful turn; and they likewiſe enjoyed an opportunity of extending their reſentments to the Portugueſe, from whom they ſeized a ſhip, of the burthen of three hundred tons; and a frigate of the burthen of ſixty tons. The former was laden with cocoes, tin, ſugar, rackanuts, china-diſhes, ſpices, wax, allum, and baſt-ropes. The cargo of the latter conſiſted of rice, and tamarinds.

From Dabul, the Engliſh returned to the Red Sea, where they arrived towards the end of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twelve, and had an opportunity of obtaining ſatisfaction for the damages which they had ſuffered at Mocha, by ſeizing ſeventeen Indian ſhips, from the burthen of fifteen hundred, to that of two hundred tons, in the valuable cargoes of which the inhabitants of Mocha were deeply concerned. When the Engliſh had plundered the ſhips of thoſe commodities which they moſt wanted, they accepted of a ranſom for the reſt; and, on this occaſion, fifteen thouſand rials of eight were paid to redeem only one veſſel.

Sir Henry, and his aſſociates, next proceeded to Bantam, from whence he diſpatched the Darling, for Macaſſar, and the other places. After the departure of this laſt veſſel, the admiral, who ſtayed to repair his ſhip, died, and left his aſſociates in great diſtreſs, notwithſtanding the advantages which they had

reaped from the ſeizure of ſuch valuably freighted veſſels, during the courſe of their voyage (*o*), (*p*).

We ſhall now proceed to inform the reader that immediately on the departure of the Engliſh from New-England, the French took up their reſidence within their limits. Alarmed, and irritated at this proceeding, the colony of Virginia immediately diſpatched Sir Samuel Argall, to diſplace them. This officer having taken poſſeſſion of the forts which they had conſtructed at Mount Manſel, Saint Croix, and Port Real, carried all their ordnance, proviſions, and even their ſhip, with them, and thus effectually fruſtrated the whole deſign which the French had formed of eſtabliſhing themſelves at that place. When ſome adventurers, in England, were informed of the expulſion of the French, they equipped a veſſel, and gave the command of it to the captains Hobſon, and Harley, who were ſupplied with men, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and directed to attempt diſcoveries which might once more revive the ſpirit of colonization. With theſe adventurers ſailed (*q*) two Indians, the natives of the country, who had been in England, during ſome time, and were, on this occaſion, likely to prove

(*o*) The particulars relating to the voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 247.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 100.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 426, 427.

(*p*) On the ſeventeenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, Mr. Henry Hudſon proceeded on his fourth, and laſt voyage, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt-paſſage. About this period, alſo, captain Thomas Edge, and others, ſailed to Greenland, at the charge of the Muſcovy-Company. As their enterprizes were not attended, on this occaſion, by any remarkable event, it is on that account, unneceſſary to treſpaſs, by a tedious narrative, on the patience of the reader.

(*q*) A. D. 1611.

prove ſerviceable. It muſt be remarked that, previous to the arrival of Hobſon, and his aſſociates, one Hind, an Engliſhman, who, being of abandoned principles, was employed, as the fit inſtrument for the execution of the inhuman views of others, had ſeduced ſeveral natives on board of the veſſel which he commanded, caſt them underneath the hatches, and, having carried them away, ſold them afterwards for ſlaves. A conduct at once ſo treacherous, and cruel, had exaſperated the whole race of ſavages to ſuch a violent degree, that, aſſiſted by the two Indians who had arrived from England, (and who became equally incenſed,) they made a furious, and unexpected aſſault, on Hobſon, and his whole company, many of whom, notwithſtanding their brave defence, were deſperately wounded. The Engliſh, who now perceived that all the natives were in arms, and meditated a more ſure, and terrible revenge, judged it prudent to depart, and accordingly, weighing anchor, ſtood out to ſea, and, after a ſafe paſſage, arrived at Graveſend (*r*).

On the fifth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, captain Anthony Hippon departed, in a ſhip called the Globe, from the Downs, on a ſeventh voyage, made at the expence, and for the benefit of the Eaſt-India company. Suffice it that (without entering into a detail of immaterial circumſtances,) we take notice of the only ſingular event in which this officer, and his aſſociates, were engaged. The king of Narſinga, who had given the Engliſh an invitation to eſtabliſh a factory in his country, dying whilſt they were there, the govern-

(*r*) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 427, 428.

our took advantage of the confuſion occaſioned by that event, in order to evade the payment of a debt which was juſtly due to them. At the eve of their departure (*s*), and when they were convinced that all gentle attempts to obtain the money muſt prove of no effect, they privately conveyed ſome ſmall arms on ſhore, reſolving to ſeize either the governour, or his ſon, and to carry the priſoner on board, as a pledge for the demand. It was not long before they had an opportunity of executing their purpoſe. Obſerving that the ſon was ſtanding near the cuſtom-houſe, attended by a ſlight guard, they ruſhed forwards, and ſeized his perſon. As they were conveying him from the ſpot, a multitude of the inhabitants endeavoured to reſcue him; but the Engliſh, in the ſight of at leaſt three thouſand people, bore him in triumph to their ſhip, and from whence he was not releaſed until the governour had paid the debt (*t*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, the Eaſt-India company made preparations for another voyage, and, having equipped three veſſels, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thames, gave the command of them to captain John Saris, who, on the eighteenth of April, ſailed from the Downs, for the Red Sea, Java, the Moluccas, and Japan. The moſt important occurrence connected with this expedition was the firſt eſtabliſhment of an Engliſh trade in the iſland of Japan. This great work was reſerved for captain Saris, who, having viſited the king of Firando, and Goto, (by whom he was courteouſly received,) went

(*s*) A. D. 1614. November 24th.

(*t*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 314.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 110.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio V. 2. p. 428.

went by land to Suranga, the reſidence of the emperor, of whom he had an audience. Soon after the delivery of the letters, and preſents from the king of England, Saris obtained a grant of privileges for the company, together with diſpatches, and the moſt valuable productions of the country, which he was directed to deliver to his ſovereign. He returned to Plymouth, in September, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen (*u*).

The next naval expedition was undertaken (*x*) by Sir Thomas Button, at the inſtigation of Henry Prince of Wales, to whoſe houſehold he belonged. This adventurer whoſe chief object was to make diſcoveries to the north-weſt, paſſed Hudſon's Streight, and, leaving Hudſon's Bay to the ſouth, ſailed more than two hundred leagues to the ſouth-weſtward, and diſcovered a great continent, which he called North-Wales. Having endured great hardſhips, in conſequence of ſickneſs, intenſe cold, and a ſcarcity of proviſions, he wintered at Port Nelſon, and then carefully ſearched all the bay, (which from him is called Button's Bay,) and proceeded back nearly to Digg's-Iſland. He alſo diſcovered the great land, called Swan's Neſt. The ſevereſt ſituation to which he found himſelf reduced, was at Port Nelſon, in fifty-ſeven degrees, and ten minutes of north latitude, where many of his aſſociates periſhed through exceſs of cold (*y*).

(*u*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 344—440——Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 116.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 428, 429.

(*x*) A. D. 1611.

(*y*) Introd. to Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56. —Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465—711. and V. 4. p. 1882.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 429.

In this year, alſo, the Muſcovy company fitted out the firſt ſhips which the Engliſh ever ſent to Greenland, for the purpoſe of obtaining whales. Theſe were the Mary-Margaret, of the burthen of one hundred, and ſixty tons, commanded by Thomas Edge, and the Elizabeth, of the burthen of ſixty tons, Jonas Poole, maſter. The company had engaged in their ſervice, ſix men of Biſcay, who were ſkilled in the whale-fiſhery, and from whom, the Engliſh firſt learned the art. About the twelfth of June, they killed a ſmall whale, which yielded twelve tons of oil, being the firſt that was ever made in Greenland. This voyage proved, in ſome reſpects, unfortunate. The largeſt ſhip was caſt away, and the other overſet (z), (a).

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remind the reader that the ſhip, on board of which were Sir George Sommers, and Sir Thomas Gates, having been ſeparated, from the Virginia fleet, in a ſtorm, was driven aſhore, and daſhed to pieces, at the Bermudas. Theſe gentlemen, and the crew, were ſo fortunate as to reach the ſhore, where they refitted their ſhattered long-boat, and then ſent her, with nine able mariners, to Virginia, in order that they might procure ſhipping from that country. Unhappily, theſe men were never heard of afterwards.

Notwithſtanding the dangers to which they had lately been expoſed, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Som-

(z) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio, p. 429.

(a) In this year alſo, a voyage (attended with no material events,) was made (in the ſhip, Amity, James Vadun, maſter, under the direction of William Gourdon, of Hull, pilot,) to the river, and town of Pechora, to Noya Nembla, and to the river Ob.

Sommers, were not united by any of thoſe bonds of amity which ſo frequently connect the fellow-ſufferers of misfortune, but preſerved a perpetual Spirit of animoſity, and even induced their aſſociates to divide themſelves in two factions. To ſuch violent extremes did their diſſentions, at length, proceed, that the contending parties declared themſelves reſolved not to embark together in the ſame veſſel. Two, therefore, called the Patience, and the Deliverance, were conſtructed of cedar, and rigged with the materials of the old ſhip. Inſtead of pitch, and tar, they made uſe of fiſh-oil, and hogs-greaſe, mixed with lime, and aſhes.

On the eleventh of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, the Engliſh, amounting in number to an hundred, and fifty men, ſailed, in the two veſſels, from the Bermudas, and, after a paſſage of fourteen days, arrived in Virginia. Of this colony, Sir George Sommers was appointed admiral, and ſent by lord Delaware, the governour, to the Bermudas, in order that he might procure ſuch proviſions as thoſe iſlands afforded, and, eſpecially, hogs, and turtles.

Sir George Sommers miſſed the coaſt, and fell in with that of Sagadahoc, in Norembegua, from whence, after having taken in freſh water, and proviſion, he ſailed in ſearch of the Bermudas. At length, he reached them; but, being overcome by exceſs of fatigue, and far ſtricken in year, his vital powers were exhauſted, and he died, almoſt in the moment that he diſembarked. His laſt advice to his aſſociates was that they ſhould return to Virginia; but they embraced a different reſolution, and, having ſtored their cedar-ſhip with ſuch proviſions as they could obtain, ſet ſail for England. On their arrival, they gave ſo

favourable an account of the country to the Virginia company, that they deemed it advantageous to eſtabliſh a correſpondence between it, and England. Accordingly, they ſold theſe iſlands to an hundred, and twenty perſons, of the ſame ſociety, who, became proprietors of them, and obtained a charter from the king. Of this new erected company, Sir Thomas Smith was the firſt treaſurer, and governour.

It hath been obſerved that when Sir George Sommers departed, after his firſt landing, from the Bermudas, two men, whoſe names were Chriſtopher Carter, and Edward Waters, remained behind, having committed ſome enormous crime, for which they would have ſuffered death, had they gone to Virginia. When Sommers returned, they were ſtill at the Bermudas, and had conſtructed a hut on the iſland of Saint George. They refuſed to attend the ſecond company on their departure, and perſuaded one Edward Chard to remain with them. Being now ſole lords of the country, each diſputed concerning the ſhare of power which he imagined himſelf intitled to poſſeſs; and with ſuch bitterneſs did they endeavour to ſupport their claims to ſovereignty, that Chard, and Waters, would have reſted the juſtice of their cauſe, in the iſſue of a perſonal engagement; but Carter, although he hated both, with equal violence, interpoſed for his own ſake, and, dreading leſt he ſhould be left alone, declared that in the moment that they attempted to fight, he would oppoſe the man who ſhould commit the firſt hoſtility.

Neceſſity at length induced them to unite in friendſhip, and they proceeded together on enterprizes of diſcovery. Their firſt prize was an enormous lump of ambergreaſe, which lay in the rock, and, excluſive of the pieces that were broken from it, weighed eighty pounds. At ſight of ſuch a treaſure, they grew frantic

frantic with exceſs of joy, and, eager to gain an opportunity of converting it into money, they reſolved inſtantly to build a boat in the beſt manner that they were able, and ſail either to Virginia, or to Newfoundland, according as the wind, or weather ſhould permit.

Before they could put ſo extravagant a project into execution, a ſhip arrived from England. She was called the Plough, and had, on board, ſixty perſons, ſent by the new Bermudas company, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement, at the head of which was placed Mr. Richard Moor, a faithful, brave, and experienced officer.

This governour choſe a plain on the iſland of Saint George, for the reſidence of his wife, and family. When his aſſociates obſerved that he had conſtructed a hut with palmeto-leaves, they followed his example; and thus, aroſe a kind of little village, which, in proceſs of time, became Saint George's town, all the houſes of which were built with cedar, and all the forts of hewn ſtone, according to the firſt plan which had been executed by Moor.

In a year after the arrival of the governour, a ſhip entered the harbour, from England, with a recruit of proviſions, and thirty paſſengers. At this period, one of the three perſons who had found, and hitherto concealed the ambergreaſe, diſcovered it to Moor, who ſeized it as belonging to the proprietors of the colony. He ſent one third of it to the company at London, by the veſſel which brought the ſupplies; and the reſt forwarded ſoon afterwards, in the ſame proportions. This acquiſition ſo encouraged the adventurers, that they continued to ſupply the coloniſts with proviſions, ſtores, and more men, until they were in a condi-

condition to defend, and ſupport themſelves. The governour, on his ſide, made ample, and valuable returns in ambergreaſe, drugs, cedar, tobacco, and the other products of the iſland. Such was the firſt proſperous ſtate of this plantation.

The governour continued upon the ſpot, during three years, and from time, to time, was reinforced by men, until the whole number of inhabitants amounted to more than ſix hundred, who builded ſeveral forts, and other places of defence. The great quantities of Rats, ſuppoſed to have been bred from thoſe which quitted the ſhip, and got aſhore, had almoſt conſumed the proviſions of the coloniſts. During the courſe of four years, they devoured all the growth of the country, notwithſtanding that every poſſible means was uſed for their deſtruction. At length, they diſappeared, but in what manner, none could tell. The coloniſts related one aſtoniſhing circumſtance as a fact: during this plague of rats, a number of ravens were obſerved in the iſlands. The birds departed when theſe deſtroying animals diſappeared, and neither was ever ſeen again (*b*).

In

(*b*) The particulars relative to the eſtabliſhment of the firſt colony in the Bermudas * are taken from Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 174.—Harris's Coll Part 1. p. 848.—Introduction to a Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 2. p. 362.—and Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio, p. 430, 431, 432.

* The Bermudas are a cluſter of ſmall iſlands, amounting to at leaſt five hundred. Some are larger than others; and all are ſituated within the circuit of ſix, or ſeven leagues. They lie in about thirty-two degrees of north latitude, and are diſtant ſome hundred leagues from any land. Cape Hattoraſk, in Carolina, is the neareſt. From England, they are diſtant ſixteen hundred leagues.—Lediard.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twelve, the Eaſt-India company fitted out two ſhips, the Dragon, and the Oſiander, and gave the command of them to captain Thomas Beſt (*c*). On the fifth of February, he departed from Graveſend, and, after a proſperous paſſage, arrived, on the eighth of the month of June following, at the Cape of Good Hope, where he went aſhore, and, as many of the crew were ſick, cauſed tents to be pitched, for their reception.

On the twenty-eighth of June, they departed from the bay of Soldania, and proceeded on their courſe, with favourable wind, and weather, until the thirteenth of Auguſt, when they croſſed the Equinoctial Line.

On the fourth of September, they arrived within four leagues of the bar of Surat, and, on the thirteenth, ſailed up to the city, where they were courteouſly received by the governour and the chief inhabitants.

Here, they remained, engaged in commerce, until the twenty-ninth of November, when they deſcried a Portugueſe fleet, amounting to two hundred, and forty ſail, in the ſervice of the merchants, and bound for Cambaya. They were, next, alarmed by a letter, which informed them that another Portugueſe fleet was on the paſſage for the purpoſe of expelling them from thoſe ſeas, notwithſtanding that they had obtained, from the Great Mogul, the privilege of eſtabliſhing a trade, and erecting factories, in the cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, or any other part, or parts of that country, within his dominions (*d*). On the tenth of November, four Portugueſe galleons, and twenty-four frigates, came in ſight of the Dragon, and the Oſian-

(*c*) Two veſſels, the James, and Solomon, were alſo equipped by the Eaſt-India Company for other voyages.

(*d*) A copy of the treaty is in Harris's Collection.

Oſiander. Captain Beſt, immediately weighed anchor, and encouraged his men not to dread adverſaries, howſoever ſuperior they might be in force, but to convince them that the Engliſh were too intrepid, and experienced in the art of war, to be vanquiſhed in a moment. He then directed his courſe towards the admiral, and vice-admiral ſhips, firing one ſhot as he approached. He next, paſſed between them, and poured into each a broad-ſide, attended by a volley of ſmall arms, which occaſioned them to ſheer off, nor did they venture, during the remainder of the day, to approach the Dragon. The night now advanced, and as the long-boat of this laſt ſhip had been ſunk by a cannon-ball, captain Beſt judged it neceſſary to caſt anchor. The remainder of the Portugueſe fleet was not yet come up, neither had the Oſiander an opportunity of engaging, during the whole day. The captain, officers, and mariners belonging to this laſt veſſel, acquired, by their intrepidity, and good conduct, a ſhare of honour, in the battle on the enſuing morning, which fully indemnified them for the loſs of it, when the Dragon only was in action. For the ſpace of three hours, the conteſt was maintained with equal fury by the Engliſh, and the Portugueſe. At length, three galleons, in the ſervice of the enemy, were driven on the ſands, when the Oſiander, drawing but little water, approached, and kept up a continual fire, which proved fatal to numbers of the Portugueſe. In the afternoon, the galleons, aſſiſted by the frigates, and availing themſelves likewiſe of the flood-tides, ſtood out farther from the ſhore, and furiouſly renewed the fight. Such, however, was the ſuperiority preſerved by the gallant, and well-directed exertion of the crews belonging to the Dragon, and the Oſiander, that, during four hours, the adverſe fleet was not only much

diſa-

diſabled, but incapable of gaining the leaſt material advantage.

As the night was now advanced, every veſſel came to an anchor, and no attempts were made for the renewal of hoſtilities. In two days, after this event, captain Beſt and his aſſociates ſailed over to the other ſide of the bay, and caſt anchor at a ſhort diſtance from the ſpot where Sardar Chaune, a noble chief of the Moguls, at the head of two thouſand horſe, was beſieging a caſtle, belonging to a people who, previous to the conqueſt of Guyſerat, were the capital lords of that country, but, at this period, ſubſiſted by committing depredations on travellers. Sardar Chaune gave a courteous reception to the Engliſh, and preſented captain Beſt, with a valuable horſe, and ſplendid furniture.

On the twenty-ſecond of September, and when the Engliſh had remained at this place, nearly ten days, engaged in trade with ſeveral of the inhabitants, the Portugueſe galleons, and frigates, reinforced with men, and ammunition, advanced towards them. Sardar Chaune, notwithſtanding that he had been informed of the brave reſiſtance made, during the laſt action, by the Engliſh, yet, conſidering the ſuperiour force of their adverſaries adviſed Beſt, and his aſſociates, inſtantly to make ſail, and, ſtanding out to ſea, avoid an action which, if begun, could end only in their defeat. He was anſwered by theſe intrepid ſeamen that unleſs Heaven was againſt them, the Portugueſe would rue the moment in which they ventured to attack them. Soon afterwards the Engliſh weighed anchor, and began ſo furious an engagement that their adverſaries cloſed an ineffectual reſiſtance of four hours, by crouding every ſail, and retreating with the greateſt precipitation, and diſorder. The Engliſh

now

now purſued, nor gave up the chace until the Portugueſe were out of ſight. Returning, they caſt anchor amidſt the acclamations of multitudes of the inhabitants, who extolled and wondered at their reſolution.

When Sardar Chaune had reduced the caſtle, and made the rebels priſoners, he repaired to the court of the Great Mogul, to whom he related the particulars of this remarkable naval fight. That prince grew loud in his commendations of the bravery of the Engliſh, and he was the more ſurprized at the brilliancy of their ſucceſſes, becauſe he had hitherto ſuppoſed that no nation was ſo formidable, on the ocean, as the Portugueſe.

On the twenty-ſeventh of December, the Dragon, and the Oſiander returned, and entered the port of Swally, having loſt in the actions with the Portugueſe, only three mariners. But one perſon, likewiſe, who had the misfortune to loſe his arm, was wounded. The enemy, as the Engliſh were afterwards informed, had one hundred, and ſixty men ſlain.

In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, captain Beſt, and his aſſociates, arrived, with their ſhips, at Achen, where he obtained a Ratification of the treaty which had formerly been made in the preſence of captain Lancaſter, between the Engliſh, and the ſovereign of that place (*e*). When theſe

(*e*) The prince particularly intreated captain Beſt to apply to James, the firſt, for his permiſſion, that two of the faireſt women within his kingdom ſhould make a voyage to Achen. "If (added he,) either of them ſhould bring "me a ſon, he ſhall be the ſovereign of Priaman, and of "the whole country from which you procure pepper. "Thus, you ſhall not need to viſit me, but may apply, for "this commodity, to an Engliſh king."

theſe matters were adjuſted, the Dragon, and the Oſiander, prepared for ſailing, and in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, returned to England (*f*).

We now turn back to a brief relation of a voyage undertaken at the expence of ſeveral merchant-adventurers, amongſt whom were Sir George Lancaſter, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. James Hall. The latter, who was inſtructed to attempt the diſcovery of a North-Weſt paſſage, went as chief commander of the veſſels equipped, on the occaſion. Theſe were the Patience, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons, and having on board forty men, and boys; the Heart's Eaſe, of the burthen of ſixty tons, her crew amounting to twenty men, and boys. On the twenty-ſecond of May, they departed from the Humber, and when, at his arrival among the Indians, the commander diſembarked, he was overpowered by theſe ſavages, and barbarouſly maſſacred. By this calamitous event, the purpoſe of the voyage was intirely fruſtrated (*g*).

It

(*f*) The particulars relating to this voyage to the Eaſt-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 137.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 466—482.—MS. Journal of Nicholas Withington, Factor, during the voyage.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 432, 433.

(*g*) The farther, but unintereſting particulars relative to this expedition, may be found in the collection of voyages, V. 6. p. 245, where is a Journal, written by John Gatonbe, quarter-maſter of one of the ſhips—and in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 831. where is another Journal that had been kept by William Baffin.

At this period, alſo, the Muſcovy-Company ſent to their Greenland fiſhery two ſhips, the crews of which catched ſeventeen Whales. It was now that the Dutch, and Spaniards, employing Engliſhmen who had baſely deſerted the ſervice of their own country, ſent their firſt veſſel to this Fiſhery.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.

It is now neceſſary that we ſhould return to the affairs of Virginia; and inform the reader that the arrival of the lord Delaware, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, had greatly contributed to at leaſt a partial reſtoration of the proſperity of the colony, and that all circumſtances tended to the eſtabliſhment of unanimity. On the tenth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed marſhal-general, arrived at Virginia, with three ſhips, which brought ſupplies of men, cattle, and hogs. Obſerving that the coloniſts had been ſhamefully inattentive to the culture of corn, and relied intirely on their ſtores, which then contained proviſions for only three months, he perſuaded them to ſow that valuable grain, and, notwithſtanding that the ground was unprepared for its reception, until the middle of the month of May, the crops ariſing from it were tolerably abundant. It was from the indefatigable, and well-directed exertion of the peculiar abilities of this illuſtrious adventurer, that the felicity of the plantation acquired a degree of permanency, which became ſtrengthened by the erection of a new town, called Dale's Gift, at his own expence.

In the month of Auguſt, in the ſame year, Sir Thomas Gates, arrived at James-Town, with ſix ſhips, on board of which were a large ſupply of hogs, an hundred head of cattle, a great quantity of fowls, together with ammunition, cloathing, tools, implements of huſbandry, and all articles particularly neceſſary for the advancement of a colony in its infant ſtate. At this period, the adventurers having been reinforced by three hundred, and fifty choſen men, ſettled in a new town, at Arrahatuck, nearly fifty miles above James-Town, paling in the neck more than

two miles from the point, and from one extremity of the river to the other. Here, they conſtructed forts, fixed ſentry-boxes, and, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, named the whole place, Henricopolis. Whilſt matters proceeded in this ſucceſsful train, the mother-country liberally, and affectionately interfered. Such large, and general ſupplies, were ſent from England, and ſo wiſely were they employed, that the lands became fertile from aſſiduous cultivation, the colonies were conſiderably extended, private individuals poſſeſſed plantations; and churches were erected, ſchools founded, and preachers beneficed, in conſequence of the large pecuniary collections which had been made for theſe ſalutary purpoſes in England.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twelve, more ſupplies arrived, in two veſſels. When captain Argal, the commander of one of theſe, proceeded to Potowmeck, in order to purchaſe Corn, he obtained an interview with Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the ſovereign of the country. Having prevailed on this princeſs to go on board (*h*), and partake of an entertainment, he detained her a priſoner, and conveyed her to James-Town, in hopes that her father would chearfully purchaſe her liberty, at the price of peace with the Engliſh. The king, incenſed at this act of treachery, declared that not even the violence of his affection for his daughter, whom he ſo eagerly wiſhed to have reſtored, ſhould induce him to accede to any terms with men whom he now doubly conſidered in the light of adverſaries, and threatened that his whole life ſhould be employed in perpetual hoſti-

(*h*) It is affirmed that ſhe was betrayed on board by her uncle, who ſold her for a copper tea-kettle.—Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia.

lities againſt the Engliſh. At the expiration of two years from this event, a marriage was propoſed between Mr. John Rolfe, a coloniſt, and the princeſs. Her father, who conſidered this offer as one of the trueſt teſts of friendſhip, conſented to it without reluctance, and, although he would not honour the wedding with his preſence, expreſſed his warmeſt wiſhes for the termination of the war.

The celebration of the nuptials of Rolfe, and Pocahontas (*i*), was attended with the concluſion of peace between the coloniſts, and Powhatan. The Engliſh, and the Indians now imagined that their ſituation was intirely ſecure; and the former, although neither inwardly loved, nor reſpected, by the Chickahomineſe, a neighbouring tribe, received the homage of that people, who had been brought under an abſolute ſubjection to Powhatan, and frequently experienced the terrible effects of his tyrannical diſpoſition (*k*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twelve, a ſhip, called the Solomon, ſailed from England, on a voyage undertaken for the benefit of the Eaſt-India company. As but few of the occurrences which aroſe during the paſſage, are deſerving of attention, let it be ſufficient if we inform the reader, that, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, the crew diſcovered an iſland, hitherto unknown to them, and ſituated in the ſouthern latitude of nineteen degrees, and thirty-four minutes; and that to the eaſtward of this, they obſerved the iſlands of Santa Maria d'Agoſta, and of Martin Vaz; and that, on the twenty-ſeventh of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, they

(*i*) A. D. 1613.

(*k*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 109.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 229.—Lediard's naval Hiſt. Folio. V. 2. p. 434, 435.

they ſaw another iſland, which, likewiſe, was unknown to them (*l*).

At the commencement of the month of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, a ſhip, named the Expedition, and of the burthen of two hundred, and ſixty tons, ſet ſail, under the command of captain Chriſtopher Newport, from Graveſend. On board, were Sir Robert Shirley, the ambaſſador to Perſia, and Sir Thomas Powell, with a magnificent retinue, all of whom were to diſembark on the coaſt of that country. Few remarkable events occurred during the courſe of this voyage; and, perhaps, the only extraordinary circumſtance was a ſhort, but violent contention with the Baluches, a people tributary to the Perſians, and who had formed a conſpiracy to ſeize on the effects, and perſon of the ambaſſador. The Engliſh, forewarned of this deſign, proved too powerful for their adverſaries. Soon afterwards, they ſet ſail, and, on the tenth of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, returned to England, and anchored in the Downs (*m*).

At this period, the Muſcovy company, having obtained from the King, a patent under the broad ſeal, which forbad foreigners, and all others not included in it, to frequent the coaſt of Greenland, equipped ſeven veſſels, and directed the commanders of them to repair to thoſe parts for the purpoſe of carrying on the fiſhery. At their arrival, they found nineteen ſail of ſhips. Of theſe, four were Engliſh, and unlicenſed; two Dutch, and the reſt French, Spaniſh, and Flemiſh.

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 140.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 435.

(*m*) Ibid.

After a long, and violent oppoſition, they drove theſe invaders from the coaſt; but previous to this ſucceſs, the time preſcribed for the duration of their voyage was almoſt elapſed. They, notwithſtanding, catched ſixteen whales, and obliged the foreigners to procure more for them. They alſo diſcovered Hope Iſland, and other iſlands to the Eaſtward (*n*).

We next proceed to a relation of the moſt material occurrences during the firſt voyage, of which the expence was defrayed with a part of the united ſtock of the Eaſt-India company (*o*). The fleet equipped on this occaſion conſiſted of four ſhips; the New-Year's Gift, admiral, of the burthen of ſix hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by Nicholas Downton; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of five hundred tons; the Merchant's Hope, of the burthen of three hundred tons, and the Solomon, of the burthen of two hundred tons.

At the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, Downton ſailed with this naval armament from England, and, in the month of October, arrived at Surat, where, as the Indians had declared open war againſt the Portugueſe, he found himſelf reduced to the painful Alternative of either bearing a ſhare in it, or relinquiſhing all hopes of trading with the natives. On the eighteenth of January, in the year,

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—713—716.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 435, 436.

(*o*) Harris ſtiles it the firſt Eaſt-India voyage ſet forth by the united Stocks of the Eaſt-India Company; and adds; "Note that now the order of reckoning the voyages is altered: thoſe that are remaining being not ſet forth by particular ſhips, ſtocks, or Factories; but, by a joint ſtock, in which the whole company was concerned; ſo that we call this the firſt voyage upon the joint ſtock."

year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, the Portugueſe vice-roy came in ſight with his fleet, and, towards the evening, the Engliſh diſcovered that it conſiſted of ſix galleons, three ſhips, two gallies, and ſixty frigates. Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of this force, Downton, and his brave aſſociates, prepared for an attack. In the moment that the ſignal was made, the Merchant's Hope bore down alone upon the enemy, and was at once oppoſed by three ſhips, two gallies, and nearly all the frigates, to the aſſiſtance of which the galleons were haſtening with crouded ſails. The Portugueſe boarded the Merchant's Hope; but, no ſooner did they perceive that the other three Engliſh ſhips were advancing to engage than, with a puſillanimity which is ſcarcely to be credited, they leaped into the ocean, whilſt their whole fleet bore away from the ſcene of action. Multitudes of the Portugueſe periſhed amidſt the waves; and ſeveral, amongſt whom were the chief officers, loſt their lives in their encounter on board the Hope.

The Portugueſe mortified by the conſequences of an action which had proved ſo inglorious to themſelves, and anxious to be revenged of adverſaries againſt whom ſuperior numbers were hitherto of no avail, ſent for a conſiderable reinforcement to their naval armaments; yet, on their arrival, could not raiſe up a ſpark of reſolution, but, with their wonted puſillanimity, avoided coming to a cloſe engagement, and only turned adrift ſome fire-ſhips, in order that they might fall foul of, and deſtroy the veſſels of the Engliſh. Unſucceſsful in his deſigns, the vice-roy made a ſignal for his whole fleet to avoid an action, and get under ſail; and, ſoon afterwards, every ſhip was out of ſight. In the accounts which the Engliſh received from Damon, it was obſerved that the dead bo-

dies of three hundred and fifty of the Portugueſe, who had been ſlain in the engagement, had been carried to that place for interment; and, it appeared, alſo, from a moderate computation, that not leſs than an hundred more (excluſive of thoſe who had been drowned,) were either killed, or burnt in the ſhips. When the commercial negociations of the Engliſh were concluded, they ſet ſail from Surat, and, on the third of March, a period not far diſtant from their departure, obſerved that they were purſued by another fleet of Portugueſe men of war. They ſuffered themſelves to be chaſed, during ſome time, and then lay to, and prepared for battle. In the moment that their adverſaries became ſenſible of their reſolution, they baſely ſheered off, and with a degree of cowardice, which ſcarcely can be paralleled, left the ſea open to a naval force ſo much inferior to their own, that it conſiſted but of one ſhip, to ten (*p*). The Engliſh proceeded, in triumph, on their courſe.

In

(*p*) The following is a liſt of the Portugueſe fleet, from the papers of Domingo Franciſco, who was taken priſoner in Swally-Road.

SHIPS.

NAMES.	BEUTHEN.	GUNS.	MEN.
Saint Peter	200 tons	8	150
Pinnace	120 tons	4	80
Saint Paul	200 tons	8	150

GALLEONS.

All Saints	800 tons	28	300
Saint Bennet	700 tons	20	150
Saint Lawrence	600 tons	18	160
Saint Chriſtopher	600 tons	18	159
Saint Jeronimo	500 tons	16	180
Saint Antonio	400 tons	14	140

There

In June, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, and when the Merchant's Hope had ſailed for England, the Hector, and the Solomon arrived at Bantam (*q*), where they procured mace, and a quantity of ſilk ſufficient for the full lading of the Solomon, now bound for Maſulipatan. When the merchants who were on board arrived at this place, they were informed that the Engliſh factors, dwelling at Macaſſar, had ſuffered greatly from the violent perſecutions of the Dutch. We have now preſented the reader with a detail of the moſt material occurrences of this voyage, and need only add that the Hector, and the Solomon, having compleated their cargoes, departed from Bantam, and, in October of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixteen, returned to England (*r*).

Notwithſtanding the violent oppoſition to which the ſubjects of James had been expoſed in New-England, during the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, it was judged expedient once more to attempt the eſtabliſhment of that peace, and commerce, from which an unfortunate concurrence of events had hitherto excluded them. Accordingly, two veſſels were equipped at the expence of the captains Roydon, and Langham, Mr. Bully, and Mr. Skelton. Theſe ſailed, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, under the command of captain Smith, who had been preſident of the Southern colony, in Virginia. On

There were alſo two gallies, the companies of which amounted to one hundred men; ſixty frigates, carrying thirty-ſix oars, and having on board twenty ſoldiers; two Indian ſhips, each of the burthen of two hundred tons; two junks, and eight fire ſhips.

(*q*) Here it was that the gallant captain Downton died.

(*r*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 500.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 143.—Lediard's naval Hiſt. V. 2. Folio. p. 436, 437.

his arrival at New-England, this celebrated adventurer traded with the inhabitants, and, attended by only eight men, ranged the coaſt, and ſurveyed, and took a plan of the adjoining country. Whilſt he was on ſhore, the natives gave him in Exchange for European articles of trifling value, ten thouſand beverſkins, one hundred Martens, and the ſame number of otters. Having availed himſelf of every favourable opportunity to engage in commerce, he returned to England, with the ſmalleſt of his veſſels, leaving directions that the other ſhould proceed to Malaga, where her cargo of dried fiſh was afterwards purchaſed by the Spaniards.

On this expedition, Smith was engaged during the ſpace of ſix months, and cleared almoſt fifteen hundred pounds, in conſequence of the ſale of the otter, and beavers-ſkins, of ſalt-fiſh, train-oil, and other commodities. The merchant-adventurers who employed him were not only ſufficiently indemnified for their expences, but reaped great emoluments from the produce of their ſhares in the cargoes of the two veſſels (*s*).

At this period the Muſcovy company ſent thirteen large ſhips, and two pinnaces, not only for the purpoſe of employing the crew in the fiſheries, at Greenland, but, in order that they might oppoſe the Dutch in an attempt to rob them of a part of this advantageous branch of commerce. This fleet proved too feeble for an oppoſition; and eighteen ſail of large veſſels, four of which were men of war, mounting thirty

(*s*) Smith preſented to the court of managers of the north Virginia company, his draught of the country, and had it called New-England.—Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 204.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

thirty guns, and all in the ſervice of the Dutch, were conſequently ſuffered to fiſh, unreſiſted, on the coaſt. One of the ſhips belonging to the Engliſh company, in which were employed Thomas Sherwin, and William Baffin, proceeded to the northward of Greenland, as far as eighty degrees, and ſome minutes (*t*).

The hiſtorians of the naval tranſactions during the years, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen; and one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, obſerve that two voyages were made, at the expence of the Muſcovy Company, by Robert Fotherby, for the purpoſe of diſcovering ſeas, lands, and iſlands to the northwards. We preſent the reader, nearly in the words of the commander, with an account of the ſole memorable event which aroſe during the courſe of this expedition.

"In the month of June, and in the year, one thou-
"ſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, I went, with the
"ſhallop, into Maudlin Sound, there to ſet up the
"arms of king James, and, under it, a piece of
"ſheet-lead, with the mark of the Muſcovy compa-
"ny, of the day of the month, and of the year.
"Then, cutting up a piece of earth, I carried it on
"board, and in the preſence of the men, ſpoke to
"this effect:"

"I take this piece of earth, as the ſign of lawful
"Poſſeſſion of king James's New-land, and of this
"particular place, which I name Trinity Harbour, ta-
"ken on behalf of the company of merchants, called
"the merchants of new trades, and diſcoveries, for,
"the uſe of our ſovereign lord, James, by the grace
"of GOD, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
"whoſe

(*t*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

"whoſe royal arms are here ſet up, to the end that all "people who ſhall here arrive, may take notice of "his majeſty's right, and title to this country, and "to every part thereof. GOD ſave King James!"

It doth not appear that Fotherby commanded any ſhip, during the firſt voyage. He, probably, was an officer of the Thomaſine, one of the ſhips belonging to the Greenland fleet. When he proceeded on the ſecond voyage, he had been appointed to the command of a pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, called the Richard, of London (*u*).

At the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, the Eaſt-India company, defraying the expences out of the joint ſtock, equipped two veſſels; the Expedition, under the command of captain Peyton, together with the Dragon, Lion, and Pepper-Corn, under the command of captain Keeling. with theſe officers, went Sir Thomas Roe, ambaſſador from James, to the Great Mogul. The only particular relative to this voyage which can merit the attention of the reader is the eſtabliſhment of a factory, at Crangador, purſuant to an agreement made by captain Keeling, with the Great Samorian, or King of Callecut, who inveſted the Engliſh with ſeveral privileges which greatly contributed to the freedom of their commerce (*x*).

At this Period, alſo, four ſhips, on board of which were crews who had failed with captain Smith, and thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of navigating veſſels to thoſe parts, were fitted out at the expence of the

(*u*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 590.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 720.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 437.

(*x*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 149.—Purchas, V. 1. p. 603.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 539.

the Virginia company, and proceeded to New-England. At the expiration of ſix months, they returned with a full cargo of fiſh, train-oil, and furs (*y*).

It was in this year, alſo, that captain Smith departed on his ſecond expedition to New-England, with two ſhips, the largeſt of which ſprung her maſts, during the violence of a ſtorm, and was obliged to return to Plymouth, whilſt the ſmalleſt veſſel purſued her courſe, and, after a proſperous voyage, came back to England. Still anxious to ſet ſail, Smith, attended by thirty men, procured a bark, of the burthen of ſixty tons, but was ſcarcely out at ſea, when he was intercepted, and taken by nine French Pirates, who conveyed him to France (*z*); but his aſſociates eſcaped in their own veſſel. His detention did not hinder one of the four ſhips, which was deſigned for him, from proceeding on the voyage; and ſhe, afterwards, returned valuably freighted to the port of London (*a*).

At

(*y*) Smith lamented that he was ſo unfortunate as not to have undertaken this voyage, and imputes the diſappointment to his miſtaken conduct, at Plymouth, where, when he arrived from his laſt expedition, he engaged with perſons who deceived him, notwithſtanding that, on their account, he had refuſed his ſervice to the merchants of the port of London.

(*z*) Yet, from his own relation, it appears that he was not carried a priſoner thither; but, after having been concerned with them in ſeveral adventures, during the whole ſummer, he availed himſelf, near Rochelle, of an opportunity to eſcape, and, alone, entered a boat, in which he endured a violent tempeſt, at a time when many veſſels were caſt away. He had the good fortune to reach the ſhore, in ſafety.

(*a*) Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 205.—221.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 439.

At this æra, the Muſcovy company, whoſe whole force, at Greenland, conſiſted of two ſhips, and two pinnaces, felt themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting patiently to the ſuperior power of the Dutch, who had ſent to the fiſhery fourteen large veſſels, three of which were men of war, and prepared in all reſpects for oppoſition (*b*).

It was, likewiſe at this period, that the Danes, under the conduct of an Engliſhman who had deſerted the ſervice of his country, made their firſt voyage to Greenland, and immediately on their arrival, with three men of war, had the inſolence to demand from the Engliſh a toll for what they termed the liberty of fiſhing. The latter peremptorily refuſed to comply with an order which was at once ſo unwarrantable, and abſurd, and the Danes departed peaceably, without having made the leaſt attempt to force them to obedience.

In the courſe of this year, the Engliſh alſo endeavoured once more to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage. As few remarkable events aroſe during the voyage, let it ſuffice if we inform the reader that it was unſucceſsful (*c*).

We now proceed to the relation of a memorable engagement, and ſhall inſert it nearly in the words of a gallant ſeaman (*d*), who ſignalized himſelf on the occaſion.

"Hav-

(*b*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 439.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 836.—Ibid. 439.

(*d*) The Extract is taken from a pamphlet, publiſhed in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeventeen, under the inſpection of the maſter, by an officer belonging to the Dolphin. In the works of Taylor, the water-poet, this

"Having finiſhed our buſineſs, at Zant, we de-
"parted thence, towards the latter end of the year,
"one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixteen, being
"bound, with our loading, for England. Our ſhip,
"named the Dolphin, from London, was of the burthen
"of two hundred, and twenty tons (*e*), having in her
"about nineteen pieces of caſt ordnance, and five
"murtherers (*f*), and being manned with thirty-ſix
"men, and two boys. Her maſter was Mr. Edward
"Nichols, a man of great ſkill, courage, induſtry,
"and proved experience, who making for England,
"we got clear of the iſland, on the firſt of January,
"in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven-
"teen. The wind being north and by eaſt, a proſpe-
"rous gale, by the eighth, in the morning, we had a
"ſight of the iſland of Sardinia."

"The wind being then come weſterly, on the
"ninth, in the morning, we ſtood in for Callery;
"and, at noon, the wind being ſoutherly, we ſailed
"cloſe by two little watch-towers, from whence two
"ſhot were fired at us, to give warning, that they
"would ſpeak to us; but the approaching night pre-
"vented them. If we could have ſent aſhore to
"them, their intention was, as we heard after-
"wards, to have informed us of the Turkiſh men of
"war, which we afterwards met withal, to our coſt,
"and peril, as well as theirs, for theſe towers were
"not above two leagues from the place where we
"made our fight. This night, the wind growing
"calm, we ſailed towards Cape Pola. On the tenth,
"we

this performance (if we except ſome particular paſſages,) appears to have been copied, verbatim.

(*e*) In Taylor's work, the burthen mentioned is two hundred, and eighty tons.

(*f*) According to Taylor, nine.

" we had very little wind, or none at all, until it was " two of the clock in the afternoon, which drove us " above three leagues eaſtward from the Cape. Here " we eſpied a fleet of ſhips upon the main of Sardinia, " near unto the road called Callery, belonging to the " king of Spain."

" On the twelfth of January, during the morning " watch, about four o'clock, we had a ſight of a " ſail, making from the ſhore, towards us, which put " into our minds ſome doubt, and fear, and, as ſhe " came near unto us, we diſcovered her to be a ſattie, " which is a ſhip much like unto an argoſey, of a very " great burthen, and bigneſs. She ſtood in, to get be- " tween the ſhore, and us, which perceiving, we ima- " gined ſome more ſhips not to be far off, whereupon " our maſter ſent one of our company up into the " main-top, who diſcovered five ſail of ſhips, one " after another, coming up before the wind, which " was then at weſt-ſouth-weſt. With his perſpective- " glaſs, he perceived them to be Turkiſh men of " war, the firſt of them booming by himſelf, be- " fore the wind, with his flag in the main-top, and " all his ſails gallantly ſpread abroad. After him, " came the admiral, and the vice-admiral, of greater " burthen than the firſt, and after him two more, " the rear-admiral, larger than all the reſt, and his " companion."

" They ſeemed all prepared for any deſperate aſ- " ſault, whereupon we immediately made ready our " ordnance, and ſmall ſhot, and with no little reſolu- " tion prepared ourſelves to withſtand them. This " being done, we went to prayers, and then to din- " ner, where our maſter gave us ſuch noble encou- " ragement, that our hearts even thirſted to prove the " ſucceſs, and being in readineſs for the fight, our

" maſter

" maſter went upon the poop, and ſpake to us in the " following manner."

" Countrymen! and Fellows! You ſee into what " an exigency it hath pleaſed GOD to ſuffer us to fall: " let us remember that we are but men, and muſt, of " neceſſity, die. When, where, and how, is alone in " the knowledge, and appointment of GOD; but if it " be his pleaſure, that this muſt be the laſt of our " days, his will be done, and let us for his glory, " our ſoul's welfare, our country's honour, and the " credit of ourſelves, fight valiantly to the laſt gaſp. " Let us prefer a noble death before a ſlaviſh life; " and if we die, let us die to gain a better life. For " my part I will ſee, if we eſcape this danger, that, " if any be hurt, and maimed in the fight, they ſhall " be carefully provided for, for their health and " maintenance, as long as they live. Be, therefore, " reſolute; ſtand to it; here is no ſhrinking. We " muſt be either men, or ſlaves. Die with me, or, " if you will not, by the grace of GOD, I will die " with you."

" This done, he waved his ſword, three times, " ſhaking it with ſuch dauntleſs courage, as if he had " already won the victory. Hereupon, we ſeconded " him with like forwardneſs, and he cauſing his " trumpets to ſound, gave unto us much more encou- " ragement than before, and being within ſhot of " them, our maſter commanded his gunner to make " his level, and to ſhoot, which he did, but miſſed " them all. At this, the foremoſt of them bore up " apace, for he had the wind of us, and returned us " worſe than we ſent; for, their firſt ſhot killed one " of our men."

" Then enſued, for a great ſpace, a moſt fierce en- " counter betwixt us, and they having the advantage

" of

" of us, by reaſon of the wind, by about eleven, or " twelve o'clock, they had torn our ſhip in ſuch a " manner, that we uſed our guns clear of the ports, " they having left us no ports on the quarters, but " all open. We were, however, not in their debt, " for, we had not left them one man alive from " their main-maſt forward. Beſides, we diſmounted " their ordnance, and tore them ſo near the water, " that their chief commanders were forced, with their " cutlaſſes, to beat their own men, and to drive them " to their duty. By this time, they laid us aboard, " with one of their ſhips, which was the burthen of " two hundred tons (*g*), or thereabouts, and had in " her twenty-five pieces of ordnance (*h*), and about " two hundred and fifty men. The captain thereof " was one Walſingham, who ſeemed, by his name, " to be, as we afterwards found that he was, an Engliſh- " man, and admiral of the fleet; for ſo it ſignified by " the flag in his main-top. Having, as I ſaid, board- " ed our ſhip, he entered on the larboard-quarter, " his men armed, ſome with ſabres, which we called " faulchions, ſome with hatchets, and ſome with half " pikes, where they ſtayed half an hour, or thereabouts, " tearing up our nail-boards upon the poop, and the " trap-hatch; but we having a murtherer in the " round-houſe, kept the larboard ſide clear, whilſt " our men, with the other ordnance, and muſquets, " and a murtherer in our trap-hatch, played upon their " ſhip; yet, for all this, they plied our gallery with " ſmall ſhot, in ſuch ſort, that we ſtood in great dan- " ger to yield."

" At the laſt, we ſhot them quite through and " through, and they us, likewiſe; but they, being " afraid

(*g*) Or, according to Taylor, three hundred.
(*h*) Or thirty-five. Taylor.

" afraid that they ſhould have been ſunk by us, bore " ahead of our ſhip; and, as they paſſed along, we " gave them a broad-ſide, ſo that they were forced to " lay by the lee, and to ſtop their leaks. This fight " continued during more than two hours, by our " glaſs, and ſo near the ſhore, that the dwellers there- " upon ſaw all the beginning, and the ending, and " what danger we ſtood in; for, on the ſhore was " a little houſe, wherein was likewiſe turned a glaſs, " all the time, during the fight, which meaſured " the hours as they paſſed; and this was Walſingham's " part of the fight."

" The next engagement was with captain Kelley's " ſhip, which came likewiſe up with his flag, in the " main-top, and another ſhip, with his flag in the " fore-top, each of which ſhips were at leaſt of the " burthen of three hundred tons, and mounted twen- " ty-eight, or thirty pieces of ordnance (*i*), having " alſo on board nearly two hundred, and fifty men. " They laid us aboard, one on the ſtarboard-quarter, " and the other on the larboard, where entering our " ſhip, in multitudes, with their ſcimitars, hatchets, " half-pikes, and other weapons, they put us in great " danger, both of the loſs of our ſhip, and of our " lives; for they exerted much manhood, and ran " many perilous hazards. Of theſe, was an inſtance " in one of their company, who deſperately went up " into our main-top, to fetch down our flag, which " being eſpied by the ſteward of our ſhip, he preſent- " ly ſhot with his muſket, in ſo unerring a direction " that he fell upon our deck, and was ſhortly after- " wards, caſt into the ſea, leaving the flag behind him."

" Thus, theſe men fought with us, with great re- " ſolution, playing upon us with their ordnance, and

(*i*) Twenty-five.—Taylor.

" ſmall ſhot, for the ſpace of an hour, and a half, of " whom we received ſome hurt, and likewiſe they " of us; but when they ſaw that they could not pre- " vail, nor any way make us to yield, they bore up, " and paſſed from us, to lay their ſhips by the lee, to " ſtop their leaks, for, we had grievouſly torn, and " battered them, with our great ordnance; and this " was the ſecond attempt which they made upon us."

" Now, for the third. There came two more of " captain Kelley's ſhips, each of the burthen of two " hundred, and fifty tons, mounting twenty-two " pieces of ordnance, and having on board, at the " leaſt, two hundred men, all well provided as might " be, which was (as we thought,) too great a num- " ber for us, being ſo few in our ſhip; but GOD, that " was our friend, gave us ſuch ſtrength, and ſucceſs, " that they little prevailed againſt us; for at their firſt " coming up, notwithſtanding all their multitude of " men, we ſhot one of their ſhips quite through, and " through, and laid her, likewiſe, by the lee, as we " had done the others before. But the other ſhip (*k*) " remaining, laid us aboard on the ſtarboard ſide, " and, in that quarter, they entered our ſhip, with " their ſcimitars, fauchions, half-pikes, and other " weapons, running to, and fro upon the deck, cry- " ing ſtill in the Turkiſh tongue, Yield yourſelves! " Yield yourſelves! promiſing that we ſhould be well " uſed, and have one third part of our goods deliver- " ed back."

" One of our company now told the maſter of the " large offer which the Turks had made, and adviſed " him

(*k*) This was probably, the rear-admiral, which was larger than all the reſt, and of the burthen of five hundred tons, and having on board ſix hundred, and fifty men.

" him to yield; but the maſter replied: Away! vil-
" lain! I will never give them either part, or quarter,
" whilſt I have any quarters to my body. Whereupon,
" he, lending no ear to them, ſtood bravely in our
" defence, chuſing rather to die, than to yield, as it
" is ſtill the nature, and condition of all Engliſhmen;
" and, being thus reſolved, ſome of our men played
" our ordnance againſt them, whilſt others fired
" ſmall ſhot; ſome fought with different weapons,
" as ſwords, and half pikes, and ſuch like. In the
" midſt of this ſkirmiſh, it ſo happened, by ill
" chance, that our ſhip was ſet on fire (*l*), and in
" great danger to be loſt, and caſt away, had not the
" LORD, in his mercy, preſerved us, and ſent us
" means happily to quench it; but, now, mark the
" accident! The fire being perceived by our ene-
" mies to burn outrageouſly, and the Turks thinking that
" our ſhip would have been ſuddenly conſumed, to the
" water's edge, left us to our fortunes, falling aſtern
" from us, and ſo we put to the ſhore, under the lit-
" tle houſe, for ſome ſuccour. Here, we let an an-
" chor fall, thinking to ride there all night; which we
" had no ſooner done, but we ſaw another ſhip bear
" down upon us, whereupon we were ſore frighted, and
" ſo forced to let our anchor ſlip, and ſet ſail, to get
" better ſuccour, the enemy, at the ſame time, be-
" ing weary of our company, and hoiſting out their
" boats, to ſtop their leaks. We, for our parts, put
" into the road, between the two little forts, where
" we lay five days, mending the bruiſes, and leaks
" of our ſhip. The loſs which we received in the

(*l*) In one account, it is obſerved to have been ſet on fire, purpoſely, by the enemy, with fire-balls, and in three places, at once.

" aforeſaid fights, was that of ſix men, and one boy,
" who were killed outright, and there were hurt, eight
" men and one boy more; but it is not known what
" damage we put them to, and what number we
" ſlew in their ſhips."

" The maſter of our ſhip being at the helm, was
" ſhot twice betwixt the legs; and, as the ſurgeon
" was dreſſing the wounds of one of our men, a ball
" of wild-fire fell into his baſon, which he ſuddenly
" caſt into the ſea (*m*), otherwiſe it had greatly endan-
" gered us. The Turks were aboard, and ſounded
" their trumpets, notwithſtanding which, our men
" aſſaulted them ſo fiercely, that they forced them
" off, and the boatſwain, (ſeeing them flee,) moſt un-
" dauntedly, with a whiſtle, dared them to the ſkir-
" miſh, if ſo they durſt. The captains of three of
" their ſhips were Engliſhmen, who took part with the
" Turks, thus to rob and ſpoil upon the ocean; and
" their names were Walſingham, Kelley, and Sampſon."

" Upon the thirteenth of January, there came aboard
" certain Spaniards, in the morning betimes, to wit-
" neſs what hurts we had received, who ſeeing that
" ſome of our men were dead, went aſhore with us,
" and ſhewed us where we might bury them; but,
" as we were buſy in making their graves, and co-
" vering the bodies with earth, there came ſailing by
" a Flemiſh ſhip of the burthen of two hundred, and
" forty tons, and laden with nearly ſix thouſand
" pounds. She had been chaſed by thoſe men of war,
" that had fought with us before, and therefore, the
" crew

(*m*) In one account, the words are, " He, thinking to
" caſt it overboard, it fell upon the deck, upon which, he
" reſolutely, fell upon it himſelf, and ſmothered it with his
" body."

" crew brought, in a long-boat, all the money, to the " ſhore, and left, in the ſhip, only a few men, and " boys, who afterwards, within two days, brought " the ſaid ſhip into the road, not any thing at all en- " dangered."

" On the fifteenth of the ſame month, when we " came from the interment of our men, and had " reſted ourſelves in our ſhip, about two hours, the " wind began to blow a ſtrong gale, and by little, " and little, grew to a terrible tempeſt, through which, " from Sunday-night, until Friday in the evening, " we were in ſuch extremity of weather, as rain, " wind, lightening, and thunder, that we thought we " ſhould never have gotten clear from the road where " we lay. During this ſtorm, and tempeſt, there " died one of our men, that had been hurt in the " fight, whoſe body we caſt overboard, into the ſea, " without any other burial, and ſo, when the wind, " and ocean were a little calmed, we ſet up ſail, and " came forward. Within three days afterwards, " we buried three men more in the ſea; and in the " afternoon, we arrived at the road of Callery, and " lay at anchor, where, again ſearching our ſhip, we " found it rent, and torn in four ſeveral places; one in " the gun room, another between the decks, the " third in the ſteerage, and the fourth in the maſter's " round-houſe. At Callery, we repaired our ſhip, " and hired certain men there to help us to ſtop her " leaks. Having all things moſt fitting for our " voyage homewards, upon the thirtieth of January, " we committed our fortune again unto the ſea, " and ſo, leaving Callery, we came forward with a " Frenchman, who was bound to a place called Oraſone, " about thirty leagues from Callery, where, after the " expiration of two days, we left his company, be-

" ing the firſt of February, and, then, putting for-
" wards, till towards England, we arrived ſafe in the
" Thames."

Notwithſtanding that the public ſtill bore in remembrance thoſe calamities which had marked ſome enterprizes of captain Smith, yet his ſucceſs in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, together with the equal good fortune of other adventurers, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, and one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, had impreſſed the merchants with ſo favourable an opinion of the advantages which might reſult from a commercial intercourſe with New-England, that four ſhips were ſent thither from the port of London, and the like number from Plymouth. During the paſſage few remarkable events occurred; and we need only inform the reader that the Engliſh freighted their ſhips, on their arrival at their deſtined place, with fiſh, and train oil, which they ſold, at very high prices, in Spain, and the Canary iſlands (*n*).

At this period, and during the following year (*o*), the crews of the ſeveral ſhips belonging to the Muſcovy company were proſperous in their enterprizes at Greenland. To the Eaſtward of it, they made conſiderable diſcoveries; by the prudence, and intrepidity of their conduct, they defeated the artifices, and checked the inſolence of the Dutch, who, now appeared with only a ſmall number of ſhips, and fiſhed in unfrequented places, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Engliſh (*p*).

We,

(*n*) Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 851.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 228.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

(*o*) A. D. 1616, 1617.

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 467.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

We, at length enter on the continuation of a detail relative to the occurrences at Virginia, a colony againſt which the Spaniards were ſuſpected to have made ſome hoſtile preparations. Not long before Sir Thomas Dale returned to England (*q*), a ſhip was obſerved to lie to, within a league of Cape Comfort. Soon afterwards her boat was manned, and rowed towards the ſhore, where an officer of the party requeſted the aſſiſtance of a pilot. On being informed by the inhabitants, that one ſhould immediately attend, three of the Spaniards diſembarked under pretence of treating with the pilot, who was perſuaded to enter the boat, and concluded that they would follow him. On a ſudden, the Spaniards who had not landed, put off to ſea, leaving their three companions on the ſhore. As this proceeding occaſioned much diſtruſt, the men were ſtrictly examined. The ſole confeſſion at firſt obtained from them was, that having loſt their admiral, they had been obliged to proceed towards Cape Comfort, and that two of them were captains of the fleet. During a ſecond examination, it appeared that one of them was an Engliſhman, and had been pilot to the Spaniſh armada, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, and was, at the very time whilſt he related theſe circumſtances, in treaty with ſome diſaffected Virginian coloniſts, who were to effect his eſcape, and, likewiſe, attend him, in a ſmall bark. On the diſcovery of this plot, care was taken to apprehend the criminals, and of theſe the moſt daring were led to execution. The Engliſhman, in the ſervice of the Spaniards, in hopes that a more open confeſſion might entitle him to mercy, acknowledged that ſeveral of the latter were at ſea, in two ſhips, and had been directed to make every poſſible inquiry concern-

(*q*) A. D. 1616.

ing the ſtate of the Engliſh colony. They were, notwithſtanding, forbidden to open their commiſſion until they ſhould have arrived within the bay; a circumſtance which rendered him unable to be more particular in his relation. One of the Spaniards died, but the other was ſent to London. The Engliſhman obtained a reprieve, yet, during the voyage homewards, was hanged, at ſea, in purſuance of an order from Sir Thomas Dale. Whether he ſuffered for his former crimes, or for one more recently committed, our hiſtorians do not mention.

With Sir Thomas, Mr. Rolfe, and his wife Pocahontas (who had been converted to chriſtianity, and baptiſed Rebecca,) departed from Virginia, for England. When captain Smith was informed of the arrival of the latter, he, in grateful return for the ſervices which he had received from her, drew up a memorial deſcriptive of her many virtues, and the obligations which ſhe had conferred, not only on himſelf, but on all the Engliſh who viſited her country. Having preſented it to the queen, he was directed to invite her to the court, and, on the day following, ſhe was introduced there by the lady Delaware. Her viſits were now more frequent, and the reception which ſhe met with from the royal family was gracious to an extreme. In public, ſhe was entertained as the daughter of a prince, and ſhe appeared at plays, balls, and other elegant diverſions, attended by the chief ladies of the court, who treated her with the moſt aſſiduous reſpect. On all occaſions, ſhe conducted herſelf with ſuch ſtrict propriety, and maintained a dignity ſo unaffected, that every individual who approached her confeſſed that the encomiums which had been paid her, by Smith, were no more than equal to her deſerts.

When

When preparing for her departure, ſhe expreſſed a grateful ſenſe of the honours which ſhe had received, and aſſerted that it was her firm intention to avail herſelf of every meaſure that could effect the eſtabliſhment of an uninterrupted harmony betwixt the Engliſh and the Indians. She did not, however, live to gratify her wiſhes, and prove a generous mediatrix. A fit of ſickneſs which ſeized her, at Graveſend, proved fatal, after the expiration of a few days, and ſhe died, rejoicing at having been inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian faith. She left iſſue a ſon, named Thomas Rolfe, whoſe deſcendants were lately, (and, unleſs they have been rendered a ſacrifice to thoſe civil wars, before which, not only properties, but lives muſt fall,) are, perhaps, ſtill exiſting in good repute at the colony of Virginia. They claimed, and held lands, as being of the ſame lineage with Pocahontas.

In the following year, the government of Virginia was intruſted to Sir Samuel Argall, who, on his arrival, diſcovered that the number of coloniſts had been reduced nearly to four hundred perſons, of whom not more than half were ſufficiently robuſt, and healthy, for the purpoſes of labour. Mean while, the Indians, aſſociating with the Engliſh, who, from the celebration of the nuptials between Rolfe, and Pocahontas, were leſs upon their guard, obtained preſents of fire-arms, in the uſe of which they became extremely ſkilful. Argall, apprehenſive of the conſequences which might reſult from the increaſing military knowledge of an intrepid race of Indians, confined the uſe of fire-arms, chiefly to his own coloniſts; and, by the purdence of his adminiſtration, not only ſecured the peace of the ſettlement, but introduced a proſperity which pervaded

vaded all departments, and, until that period, had been but little felt by any of the Engliſh (*r*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixteen, Alexander Child made a voyage from England to Surat, and from thence to Jaſquez, in Perſia. Our naval hiſtorians do not obſerve whether it was in the ſervice of the company, or of private traders, that he engaged in enterprizes which were marked by a ſeries of calamities. On the paſſage, he was attacked by the admiral of the Portugueſe carracks, when a battle enſued, that laſted during three days, at the expiration of which the veſſel ran aground, between two ſteep rocks, and was ſet on fire. Whether this misfortune proceeded from accident, or deſign, the writer (*s*), from whom the account is taken, doth not mention.

It is now neceſſary to inform the reader that as the commiſſion granted to Mr. Moor was to remain in force only during three years, that officer, when the expiration of his government approached, prepared for a return to England, and was ſucceeded by captain Daniel Tucker, under whoſe careful ſuperintendance the colony of the Bermudas acquired a degree of vigour which ſeemed to promiſe a conſiderable increaſe of its proſperity. In conſequence of an attention to the arts of agriculture, the ſoil was rendered fertile; the fields, and woods were cleared of noxious plants, and, in their place, roſe fruit trees, and tobacco. The huts which had been conſtructed with the leaves of

(*r*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 119.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 26.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio. p. 444, 445.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 606.

of the palmeto, were now exchanged for edifices of ſtone, and a regular ſyſtem of polity was eſtabliſhed throughout all departments. Although theſe ſalutary meaſures had received the approbation of all the coloniſts, yet ſo ſevere was the diſcipline maintained by Tucker, that five of the Engliſh, who grew impatient of reſtraint, had ſecretly determined to quit the iſland.

The Names of theſe diſaffected perſons were Richard Sanders, William Goodwin, Thomas Harriſon, James Barker, and Henry Puett. Having been informed that Tucker had frequently expreſſed an inclination to ſail out to ſea, and partake of the diverſion of fiſhing, but was deterred by the apprehenſion that (as the boats uſed for this purpoſe had been frequently overſet, and the crews drowned, during the violence of the tempeſt,) his life might be in danger, they propoſed to build, for his particular uſe, a boat of the burthen of three tons, decked, and capable of being navigated in any weather. The governour agreeing, they fixed on a private place for the execution of their deſigns, under pretence that there they could conveniently procure timber, and launch the boat. When Tucker was informed that it was finiſhed, he ſent ſome mariners to Sanders, and his aſſociates, from whom they might receive it, and return immediately, in order to convey him in it to the ſhip, which, at that period, was preparing to ſail for England. When they arrived at the place, they were unable to diſcover either the boat, or the builders, but, on inquiry, received information that the former was finiſhed before the cloſe of the preceding night, and that the latter put off to ſea in it, to try how it would ſail. At length, ſome letters were perceived lying on the ground. They were opened, and found to contain a declaration that the five Engliſhmen

liſhmen had reſolved to proceed immediately to their own country.

Theſe brave adventurers, after having borrowed a compaſs, went on board of the veſſel which was bound for England, and, in exchange for various commodities, procured a quantity of proviſions from the crew. To the maſter, and mate, Goodwin obſerved that although he, and his confederates were forbidden to ſail in that ſhip, yet they hoped to reach their native country before them. Returning to their boat, this little company began their voyage, and, for the ſpace of twenty-one days, enjoyed a favourable wind, and fair weather. At the expiration of this period, they were expoſed, during forty-eight hours, to a dreadful tempeſt, and, being obliged to bear up before it, were driven to the weſtward, when the wind ſhifted into its former quarter, and continued there fourteen days.

Availing themſelves of this circumſtance, they crouded every ſail, but were, at length, intercepted by a French privateer, the commander of which plundered them of the greater, and moſt valuable part of their effects, and had the cruelty to diſmiſs them, without reſtoring their inſtruments of navigation. Thus dreadfully diſtreſſed, They proceeded on their courſe, and ſoon became ſo much enfeebled that they fainted under their attempts to execute their neceſſary labours. Their proviſions were almoſt expended; their fire-wood, a part of which (ſuch was the conſequence of their calamity!) had been the knees of their little veſſel, was intirely conſumed; no freſh water remained; nor was there even food ſufficient to laſt during another day. At this alarming criſis, when death appeared inevitable, they were ſo fortu-

nate

nate as to deſcry the coaſt of Ireland, and, ſoon afterwards, they diſembarked at a ſmall port, in the county of Cork, and were hoſpitably entertained by the earl of Thomond, to whom they related the occurrences of their voyage, that included forty-two days, a ſpace of time in which they had ſailed nearly two thouſand leagues. The boat was preſerved, and hung upon a naval pillar, there to remain a monument of ſo remarkable an enterprize (*t*).

In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeventeen, the Eaſt-India company fitted out five ſhips; the James-Royal, of the burthen of a thouſand tons; the Ann-Royal, of the burthen of nine hundred tons; the New Year's-Gift, of the burthen of eight hundred tons; the Bull, of the burthen of four hundred tons; and the Bee, of the burthen of one hundred, and fifty tons. Theſe were under the chief command of captain Martin Pring.

We ſhould treſpaſs too far beyond the neceſſary limits of this work, if our inquiries extended to the occurrences of a voyage which, conſidering the frequent detachment of ſingle ſhips to particular places, may be repreſented as having laſted until the cloſe of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-one. Let it be ſufficient to remark that during the greater part of this period, the Engliſh were perpetually engaged either in diſputes, or ſkirmiſhes with the Dutch, who were generally defeated. At length, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was introduced, in conſequence of a treaty concluded between the two nations, at Japan (*u*).

In

(*t*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 183.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 2. p. 366.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 445, 446.

(*u*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 182.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 446, 447.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, four ſhips were fitted out from Plymouth, by the New-England company; but the proprietors engaged in frivolous altercations, until the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced that only two ſet ſail. One veſſel, which was of the burthen of two hundred tons, returned, after a proſperous voyage of five months, with a rich cargo, to the port of Plymouth. The other veſſel, of the burthen of eighty tons, proceeded to Bilboa, with dried fiſh, which were ſold at advantageous prices.

At this period, alſo, the lord Delaware was again ſent, as governour, to Virginia, but neither that nobleman, nor twenty-nine perſons out of the two hundred who accompanied him, ſurvived the voyage. Nearly at the ſame time, died Powhaton, an event not unfavourable to the Engliſh, as the ſucceſſor of this king entered immediately into a ſincere, and a full renewal of the peace with them.

Sir Samuel Argall, at once too powerful, and reſpected to dread an oppoſition from the Indians, embraced every favourable occaſion of advancing the proſperity of the colony. For this purpoſe, he departed on a coaſting voyage to the northward, and reſolved to view the places where the Engliſh had ſo often landed, unleſs ſome particular obſtacle ſhould intervene. In the latter caſe, it was his intention to proceed to the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and there to eſtabliſh a commercial correſpondence. Arriving at Cape Cod, he received information from the Indians, that ſeveral Europeans had fixed their dwellings to the northward, on the coaſt of the neighbouring nations. Alarmed at this event, and eager to defend from an invaſion on their privileges, the coloniſts who were the ſubjects of king James, he repaired immediately to the place. Here, he found a ſettlement, and, within the harbour,

a ſhip

a ſhip belonging to the French, ſeveral of whom occupied a ſtrong poſt, at the ſummit of a ſmall mountain, ſituated to the north of New-England. Argall firſt ſeized the veſſel, and next attacked the fort, the troops in which, after a faint reſiſtance, fled in confuſion towards the woods. On the day following, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, and delivered their patent which had been granted by the king of France into the hands of Argall, who immediately cancelled it. At this juncture, a jeſuit became a traitor to his countrymen, and ſecretly informed the Engliſh that he was prepared to conduct them to another French ſettlement, at Port Royal, in Canada. His offer was accepted, and Argall, arriving at the ſpot, drove away the coloniſts, who had not only ſowed, and reaped, but erected mills, and granaries.

An account of theſe enterprizes was ſoon tranſmitted to the court of England; and, if we may form a judgment from the meaſures which were, ſhortly afterwards, purſued, the conduct of Sir Samual Argall was too ſpirited to ſuit the diſpoſition of the pacific James. In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, a ſmall veſſel, arrived at Virginia, and, having remained there only a ſufficient time to receive the governour on board, returned for England (*x*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, the Dragon, and the Expedition, two ſhips in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, were ſent, under the command of captain William Hore, from Surat, to Achen, Bantam, and other parts of the Eaſt-Indies. Be it

(*x*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 229.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 32.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 455, 456.

it ſufficient to remark, as the only memorable circumſtance of the voyage, that the Dragon, and three more ſhips belonging to the company, were attacked (when fully freighted, and ſoon after their departure from the port of Tecuo) by ſix Dutch men of war, and taken after a violent, but ineffectual reſiſtance. The captors gratified the barbarity of their diſpoſition, and expoſed the Engliſh to the moſt inhuman inſults (*y*), (*z*).

At this period the Engliſh, and the ſtates of Holland were again involved in altercations concerning the right of fiſhing (*a*). The latter were the more violent in their remonſtrances, and demands, as preſuming on their maritime force, and the certainty that James was, even to an extreme of folly, averſe from war. It is not improbable but that they had alſo formed the moſt ſanguine ideas of the ſucceſs which might reſult from the negociations of their miniſter, whoſe abilities were equal to the moſt ardous enterprizes; and that ſooner, or later, could they protract the termination of the diſpute, they ſhould either pre-

(*y*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 650.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 196.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 456.

(*z*) During this, and the following year, the Greenland trade was on the decline; a misfortune which reſulted from the increaſing power of the Dutch, and Zealanders, who ſeverely oppreſſed the Engliſh, in thoſe parts.

(*a*) Mr. Camden † obſerves that, on the thirty-firſt of December, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, when the deputies of the States were admitted into the preſence of James, they intreated that no reſtrictions might be eſtabliſhed againſt the herring-fiſhery, as it was the great ſupport of their commonwealth, and the only ſuccour for the lower ranks of people, who at that Æra, endured the ſevereſt hardſhips which could reſult from inteſtine troubles.

† Annals of the reign of king James.

prevail upon the king to relinquish his pretensions, or so frequently repeat their own ill-founded excuses, that, in the end, they might gain credit (*b*). At this juncture, individuals who disliked the English ministry, represented the differences with that republic, as rather of a criminal than an honourable nature; yet, when in the time of the long-parliament, they held the reins of government, they caused the letters of state, written during this dispute with the Dutch, to be taken out of the archives, and, without the smallest scruple, made them the foundation of that quarrel which they prosecuted with force of arms. A naval historian (*c*) after having expressed a wish that no occasion of the like nature may ever happen, adds that, as the letters are pertinent, and curious, some extracts may at once prove entertaining, and instructive.

EXTRACT of a LETTER addressed by SECRETARY NAUNTON, to SIR DUDLEY CARLETON, AMBASSADOR to the STATES-GENERAL, dated on the twenty-first of December, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

"I Must now let your lordship know, that the "states, commissioners, and deputies, both, having attended his majesty at Newmarket, and there "presented their letters of credence, returned to London, on Saturday was sevennight, and, upon Tuesday, "had audience in the council-chamber, where being "required to communicate the points of their commission, they delivered their meditated answer, at

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 20.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 21.

" length. The lords, upon peruſal of it, appointed " the lord Bining, and me, to attend his majeſty for " directions, what reply to return to this anſwer of " theirs, which we repreſented to their lordſhips, yeſ- " terday, to this effect; that his majeſty found it " ſtrange, that they, having been ſo often required " by your lordſhip, his majeſty's ambaſſador, as from " himſelf, in their public aſſemblies, to ſend over " commiſſioners fully authorized to treat, and con- " clude, not only of all differences grown between the " ſubjects of both ſtates, touching the trade to the " Eaſt-Indies, and the whale-fiſhing, and to regulate, " and ſettle a joint, and an even traffick in thoſe quar- " ters; but, withal, to take order for a more indiffer- " ent courſe of determining other queſtions, growing " between our merchants, and them, about their " draperies, and the tare; and more eſpecially, to de- " termine his majeſty's right, for the ſole fiſhing, " upon all the coaſts of his three kingdoms, into which " they had, of late times, incroached farther than of " right they could; and, laſtly, for the reglement, " and reducing of their coins, to ſuch a proportion, " and correſpondence, with thoſe of his majeſty, and " other ſtates, that their ſubjects might make no ad- " vantage to tranſport our monies by inhancing their " valuation there. All which they confeſſed, that " your lordſhip had inſtanced them for in his ma- " jeſty's name, that after all this attent on his majeſ- " ty's part, and ſo long deliberation on theirs, they " were come at laſt to a propoſition, to ſpeak only " to the two firſt points, and inſtructed thereunto with " bare letters of credence only, which his majeſty " takes for an imperious faſhion of procedure in " them, as if they were come hither to treat of what " themſelves pleaſed, and to give law to his majeſty

" in

" in his own kingdom, and to propoſe, and admit of " nothing, but what ſhould tend merely to their own " ends."

" To the ſecond, whereas they would decline all " debate of the fiſhing upon his majeſty's coaſts, " firſt, by allegations of their great loſſes, and the " fear of an eſmeute of their people, who are all in- " tereſted in that queſtion, and would, belike, break " out into ſome combuſtion, to the hazard of their " ſtate, which hath lately eſcaped Naufrage, and is not " yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to raiſe an " advantage to themſelves, out of their diſadvan- " tage? But, afterwards, they profeſſed their loth- " neſs to call it into doubt, or queſtion, claiming an " immemorial poſſeſſion, ſeconded by the law of na- " tions; to which, his majeſty will have them told, " that the kings of Spain have ſought leave to fiſh " there, by treaty from this crown; and that the " king of France, a nearer neighbour to our coaſts " than they, to this day, requeſts leave for a few " veſſels to fiſh for proviſion of his own houſhold; " that they being a ſtate of ſo late a date, ſhould be " the firſt that would preſume to queſtion his majeſty's " ancient right, ſo many hundred years inviolably " poſſeſſed by his progenitors, and acknowledged by " all other ancient ſtates, and princes; that themſelves, " in their public letters of the laſt of June, ſent by " your lordſhip, ſeemed them to confirm their imme- " morial poſſeſſion, as they term it, with divers trea- " ties, as are that of the year, one thouſand, five " hundred, and fifty, and another between his ma- " jeſty's predeceſſors, and Charles, the fifth, as prince of " thoſe provinces, and not by the law of nations. " To which, their laſt plea, his majeſty would have " them told, that he, being a iſlander-prince, is

" not ignorant of the laws, and rights of his own " kingdom, nor doth expect to be taught the law of " nations, by them, or their Grotius, whoſe ill thriv- " ing might rather teach others to diſavow his poſi- " tions; and his honeſty called in queſtion, by them- " ſelves, might render his learning as much ſuſpected " to them, as his perſon. This his majeſty takes for an " high point in his ſovereignty, and will not have it " ſlighted over, in any faſhion whatſoever."

" Thus, I have particulated unto you, the manner of " our proceeding with them. Let them adviſe to ſeek " leave from his majeſty, and acknowledge in him his " right, as other princes have done, and do, or it may " well come to paſs, that they that will needs bear all " the world before them, by their mare liberum, may " ſoon come to have, neither terram, et ſolum, nor " rempublicam liberam."

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the ſaid AMBASSADOR, to SECRETARY NAUNTON, dated at the HAGUE, on the thirtieth of December, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen.

" WHETHER the final reſolution, here, will be " according to his majeſty's deſire, in that " point, concerning the fiſhing upon the coaſts of his " three kingdoms, I cannot ſay; and by ſomewhat " which fell from the prince of Orange, by way of " diſcourſe, when he took leave of me, on Monday " laſt, at his departure, I ſuſpect it will not, in regard " the magiſtrates of theſe towns of Holland, being " newly placed, and yet ſcarce faſt in their ſeats, who " do authorize the deputies, which come hither to the " aſſembly of the ſtates, in all things, they are to " treat, and reſolve, will not adventure, for fear of

" the

" the people, to determine of a buſineſs, on which the " livelihood of fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of this " one ſingle province doth depend. I told the prince " that, howſoever his majeſty, both in honour of his " crown, and perſon, and the intereſts of his king- " doms, neither could, nor would any longer deſiſt " from having his right acknowledged by this ſtate, " as well as by all other princes, and commonwealths, " eſpecially finding the ſame openly oppugned, both by " their ſtateſmen, and men of war, as the writings of " Grotius, and the taking of John Brown, the laſt " year, may teſtify; yet this acknowledgement of a " right, and a due, was no excluſion of grace, and " favour; and that the people of this country, pay- " ing that ſmall tribute upon every one of their buſ- " ſes, which is not ſo much as diſputed by any other " nation whatſoever. Such was his majeſty's well- " wiſhing to this ſtate, that I preſumed of his permiſ- " ſion, to ſuffer them to continue their courſe of fiſh- " ing, which they might uſe thereby with more free- " dom, and leſs apprehenſion of moleſtation, and let, " than before, and likewiſe ſpare the coſt of ſome of " their men of war, which they yearly ſend out to " maintain that by force, which they may have of " courteſy."

" The prince anſwered, that for himſelf, at his re- " turn from Utrecht, he would do his beſt endeavours, " to procure his majeſty's contentment; but, he " doubted that the Hollanders would apprehend the " ſame effect in their payment for fiſhing, as they found " in the paſſage of the Sound, where at firſt an eaſy " matter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but " now, more exacted than they can poſſibly bear; " and touching their men of war, he ſaid, that they " muſt ſtill be at the ſame charge with them, becauſe

" of the pirates. Withal, he caſt out a queſtion to " me, whether this freedom of fiſhing, might not be " redeemed with a ſum of money. To which I an- " ſwered, that it was a matter of royalty, more than of " utility, although princes were not to neglect their " profit (*d*).

EXTRACT of a LETTER, addreſſed by SECRETARY NAUNTON, to the LORD AMBASSADOR CARLETON, dated on the twenty-firſt of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen.

" AS I had dictated thus far, I received direction " from his majeſty, to ſignify to the ſtates, com- " miſſioners here, that albeit their earneſt intreaty, " and his gracious conſideration of the preſent trou- " ble of their church, and ſtate, had moved his ma- " jeſty to conſent to delay the treaty of the great " fiſhing, until the time craved by the commiſſion- " ers; yet, underſtanding, by new, and freſh com- " plaints

(*d*) Yet, that whenſoever our court proceeded with due ſpirit, it had its effect, and brought even theſe ſubtile negociators to make conceſſions, which, in reality, deſtroyed all their pretenſions, at other times, will appear, from an extract of a letter dated on the fourteenth of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, from Secretary Naunton, in which, he gives him to underſtand, " that having been expoſtulated with, but in a friendly " manner, by certain of the ſtates, about his late propoſi- " tion, as unſeaſonable and ſharp; they ſaid, that they " acknowledged that their commiſſioners went beyond their " limits, in their terms of immemorial poſſeſſion, (immu- " table droit de gens,) for which they had no order, that " he then deſired them to conſider what a wrong it was, " to challenge that upon right, which thoſe provinces had " hitherto enjoyed, either by connivance, or by courteſy, " and yet never without claim on his majeſty's ſide."

" plaints of his mariners, and fiſhers, upon the coaſts " of Scotland, that within theſe four, or five laſt years, " the Low-Country fiſhers have taken ſo great advan- " tages of his majeſty's toleration, that they have " grown nearer, and nearer, upon his majeſty's coaſts, " year, by year, than they did in preceding times, " without leaving any bounds for the country-people, " and natives to fiſh upon their prince's coaſts, and " oppreſſed ſome of his ſubjects, of intent to continue " their pretended poſſeſſion, and driven ſome of their " great veſſels through their nets, to deter others, by " fear of the like violence, from fiſhing near them, " &c. His majeſty cannot forbear to tell them, that " he is ſo well perſuaded of the equity of the ſtates, " and of the honourable reſpect which they bear unto " him, and to his ſubjects, for his ſake, that they " will never allow ſo unjuſt, and intolerable oppreſ- " ſions; for reſtraint whereof, and to prevent the in- " conveniencies which muſt enſue, upon the continu- " ance of the ſame, his majeſty hath, by me, deſired " them to write to their ſuperiors to cauſe proclama- " tion to be made, prohibiting any of their ſubjects to " fiſh within fourteen miles of his majeſty's coaſts, " during this year, or in any time hereafter, until " orders be taken by commiſſioners, to be authorized " on both ſides, for a final ſettling of the main buſi- " neſs. His majeſty hath likewiſe directed me to " command you from him to make the like declara- " tion, and inſtance to the ſtates there, and to certify " to his majeſty of their anſwers, with what conveni- " ent ſpeed you may."

What effect the negociation of the ambaſſador had on the ſtates, appears by his letter, from the Hague, dated on the ſixth of February, in the year, one thou-

ſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, and addreſſed to king James.

"I find, likewiſe, in the manner of proceeding, that "treating by way of propoſition here, nothing can be "expected but their wonted dilatory, and evaſive an- "ſwers, their manner being to refer ſuch propoſitions "from the States-General, to the ſtates of Holland. "The ſtates of Holland take advice of a certain coun- "cil, reſiding at Delft, which they call the council "of the fiſhery, and from them, ſuch an anſwer "commonly comes as may be expected from ſuch an "oracle. The way, therefore, (under correction,) "to effect your majeſty's intent, is to begin with the "fiſhers, by publiſhing, againſt the time of their "going out, your reſolution at what diſtance you will "permit them to fiſh, whereby they will be forced to "have recourſe to their council of fiſhery, that coun- "cil to the ſtates of Holland, and thoſe of Holland, "to the States-General, who then, in place of being "ſought unto, will, for contentment of their ſubjects, "ſeek unto your majeſty."

A naval writer hath remarked (*e*) that theſe letters render it perfectly clear that James aſſerted his right, throughout the long courſe of this negociation, as clearly and as explicitly as it was poſſible; and that he brought the ſtates themſelves to an acknowledgement that theſe privileges had a juſt foundation. If it ſhould be aſked why, after matters had apparently been carried to ſuch violent extremities, they ſunk at once into oblivion, the moſt rational anſwer that can be given is that in the midſt of the diſpute, the prince of

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 28.

of Orange ſhrewdly demanded of Sir Dudley Carleton, whether this claim relative to the fiſhery might not be ſet aſide, for a ſum of money. The ambaſſador who was afterwards created viſcount Dorcheſter, appears from the advice given in the extract from the laſt letter to have been a man of honour; but whether ſome perſons in power might not have found a method of conveying, by agents of their own, an anſwer to ſo plain a queſtion, is more than, at this diſtance of time, can poſſibly be determined. By one hiſtorian *(f)*, we are informed that when diſputes aroſe concerning the honours which might be due to the Engliſh flag, the Dutch found a protector in the celebrated earl of Saliſbury; nor is it at all improbable that they might procure an advocate in this important buſineſs of the fiſhery. Under ſuch a circumſtance, the agreement muſt have been miniſterial, and not national, becauſe, in the ſucceeding reign, this claim was inſiſted upon as violently, and more effectually than in the reign of James (*g*).

It may not, in this place, be improper to obſerve that by whatſoever means the diſputes relative to the fiſheries were adjuſted, during that period, no point was admitted which could in the leaſt affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain. As Carleton ſagaciouſly returned for anſwer to the queſtion propoſed by the prince of Orange, that it was a royalty, ſo, beyond all doubt, thoſe ancient, and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and although treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjuſting them with our neighbours, yet this meaſure muſt be always underſtood as embraced for the purpoſe of obtaining them. Theſe rights belong

(*f*) Sir William Monſon.
(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 29.

long to the crown, and not to the king, who, although bound by the duty of his office, to ſupport, and vindicate them, yet is, at the ſame time, reſtrained by that duty from an alienation of them; and therefore, whatſoever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances may ariſe, either in particular reigns, or from particular circumſtances, ſuch can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which remain continually, although they may not always be inſiſted upon. The reader hath already perceived that this doctrine was particularly urged, and applied in the caſe of the conteſted ſuperiority of the flag, when the Dutch were deſirous of availing themſelves of a precedent from the conduct of Elizabeth, who waved her right, at a time when it might have been imprudent to inſiſt on it; as the Dutch ſerved as auxiliaries in a fleet, commanded by an Engliſh admiral, and were, conſequently, treated as Engliſh ſubjects (*h*).

At this period, the merchants who maintained a traffic on the coaſt of Barbary, having inquired of the Moors, from whence they procured that gold which was coined into chequins, were informed that it was not produced from any mines either in Morocco, or Fez, but conveyed by the natives over extenſive deſarts. Hence, they concluded that it muſt have arrived from Ethiopia, and, therefore, reſolved to equip a veſſel for the purpoſe of diſcovering this valuable metal, in ſome of thoſe rivers which flow towards the ſouth-weſt, and there fall into the ocean.

Accordingly, in September, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, captain George Thompſon was appointed to the command of a ſhip, and

(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

and received orders to enter the river Gambra, and ſail up it with ſuch ſhallops as ſhould attend him. This he punctually performed; but, during his abſence, the ſhip was taken by a ſmall party of the Portugueſe, who, having been admitted freely on board, ſlew all the Engliſh who were left to guard her. Thompſon, and his aſſociates, proceeded as far as Tinda, where, engaging in a quarrel with an officer in his ſervice, he was killed upon the ſpot (*i*).

Although we wander from a regular chronology, it cannot be improper to remark, in this plate, that the merchants, not diſcouraged by theſe calamitous events, diſpatched, on the fifth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, to the river Gambra, a ſhip of the burthen of two hundred tons, and a pinnace of the burthen of fifty tons, under the command of captain Jobſon, who, proceeding from Dartmouth, arrived, after the expiration of twenty days, at an harbour, ſituated four leagues beyond the mouth of the river. Here he traded with the inhabitants, for elephants teeth, cotton, and other commodities peculiar to the country; yet no mention is made of his having acquired any gold, the great object of this voyage; neither doth any narrative, relating to this enterprize, inform us at what period he returned to England (*k*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, ſeveral veſſels were equipped for the purpoſe of proceeding from Plymouth, to New-England, but, a violent altercation ariſing amongſt the proprietors, became the cauſe that only one departed on the voyage. This

(*i*) March, A. D. 1619.

(*k*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 384.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 921.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. folio. V. 2. p. 457.

This was commanded by captain Dormer, whoſe enterprizes were ſo ſucceſsful that, after having reſerved to himſelf a juſt ſhare of the acquiſitions made, during the courſe of ſix months, he aſſigned to each of the ſailors, as their lawful portion, excluſive of the full payment of their charges, the ſum of ſeventeen pounds ſterling. Scarcely leſs fortunate in his attempts to make diſcoveries to the northward, he found ſeveral extenſive and convenient rivers, ſurrounded by fertile coaſts, and filled with pleaſant iſlands, from eaſt to weſt. At one of theſe, he was ſurrounded by the ſavages, who treated him with ſuch barbarity that, at his return to Virginia, he expired of the wounds which he received (*l*).

At this period, and during the following year, conſiderable ſupplies were ſent from England, to the colonies in Virginia (*m*). So great alſo was the number of planters,

(*l*) Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 851.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 229.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio. V. 2. p. 457, 458.

(*m*) Here follows an account of the ſupplies.

A. D. 1619. Auguſt.

Ships.	Burthen.	Perſons.	Cows.	Mares.
The Bona Nova	200 Tons	120		
A. D. 1620. January.				
Duty	70 Tons	51		
February.				
Jonathan	350 Tons	200		
Trial	200 Tons	40	16	
Falcon	150 Tons	36	52	4
March.				
LondonMercht.	300 Tons	300	200	
Swan	100 Tons	71		
April.				
Bonaventure	240 Tons	153		

All of theſe were diſpatched by the treaſurer, and company.

planters, that they were obliged to inhabit the old ſettlements which had been deſerted, and to extend their limits. Repreſentatives were now choſen for the ſeveral precincts; and theſe formed a general aſſembly, which ſate, attended by the governour, and the council, at James-Town, on the firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty.

In the month of Auguſt following, a Dutch ſhip arrived at Virginia, with negroes, who were the firſt ſlaves brought thither from the coaſt of Guinea. Now, likewiſe, did the Engliſh fix the boundaries of James-Town; and, in different ſituations, the ground was marked out for the uſe of the company, and of the governour, and for the purpoſe of erecting colleges, churches, and other public edifices. New ſettlements were made, and various manufactures introduced; an æra of proſperity which we ſhall find ſucceeded by the bittereſt calamity (*n*).

It may now be neceſſary to remind the reader that towards the concluſion of the reign of Elizabeth, and ſoon after the acceſſion of James, ſome merchant-adventurers of the port of London, engaged ſeparately in ſeveral attempts to eſtabliſh a trade to the coaſt of Africa, or Guinea. The reſult of theſe meaſures was barely a diſcovery of little conſequence, and a dearly-bought experience that, probably, an advantageous

The following were alſo ſent for private plantations.

	Ships.	Burthen.	Perſons.
A. D. 1619. June.	The Garland	250 Tons	45
September.	A Ship of Briſtol	80 Tons	45

And two other ſhips, having on board of each, one hundred, and fifty perſons.

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1776.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 235.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. folio. V. 2. p. 458.

geous commerce might have been introduced into thoſe parts, had they been poſſeſſed of pecuniary property, and power ſufficient for that purpoſe. Excluſive of theſe obſtacles, no phyſical means had been diſcovered for the preſervation of the voyagers from the dreadful diſorders introduced by the peſtilential air, ſo common to the climate; neither were any meaſures taken to ſecure the Engliſh from the barbarous hoſtilities of the natives. Diſpirited by theſe circumſtances, the adventurers gradually withdrew from their engagements, and appeared to have declined all thoughts of liſtening to a renewal of them.

At length, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, the king granted a charter, under the great ſeal of England, to Sir Robert Rich, and other citizens of London, therein mentioned, together with ſuch perſons as they ſhould think fit to aſſume, and incorporate into one body politic, for the purpoſe of raiſing a joint ſtock, in order to carry on a trade to Africa, excluſive of all the other ſubjects of James, who, offending in this caſe, ſhould forfeit their ſhip, and cargo, to the uſe of, and for the encouragement of theſe joint adventurers.

Scarcely had the veſſels in the ſervice of this company made three voyages, when ſeveral private merchants, allured by proſpects of future wealth, ſent ſhips, with as much privacy as was poſſible, to the ſame parts. When diſcovered, they became involved in violent ruptures with the incorporated adventurers, who exclaimed againſt the invaſion of their chartered privileges, and were anſwered that the enterprizes of the merchants were ſtrictly defenſible, and founded on a natural right. At length, both parties, harraſſed by perpetual altercations, and ſuffering under ſevere loſſes, withdrew the ſhattered remains of their reſpective

tive ſtocks, and thus the trade ſank into a neglect from which, during a length of time, it was incapable of recovering (o).

(o) Coll. voyages, V. 5. p. 665.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 558, 459.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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